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20

The History of Fort Langley, 1827–96
by Mary K. Cullen

Ranch Houses of the Alberta Foothills
by L. G. Thomas

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Cover: The interior of the refurbished trade shop, Fort Langley, British Columbia. (*Photo by S. Shaw.*)

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The History of Fort Langley, 1827–96

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Abstract

The theme of this narrative is the changing role of Fort Langley in the Hudson's Bay Company's trade on the Pacific Slope and the political implications of this development. The dates 1827–96 span the life of the Company at Langley and outline the purview of the study. In 1827 Fort Langley was built as a principal unit of a monopoly trading concern whose northward expansion of its own commerce was directly related to the consolidation of British political interests on the Pacific Slope. The economic diversity which Fort Langley demonstrated through the years helped guarantee Canada's place on the Pacific and kept a viable business operation at Langley long after the Hudson's Bay Company was spent as an international force. Competition from larger centres ultimately forced the Company to abandon the Langley post in 1896.

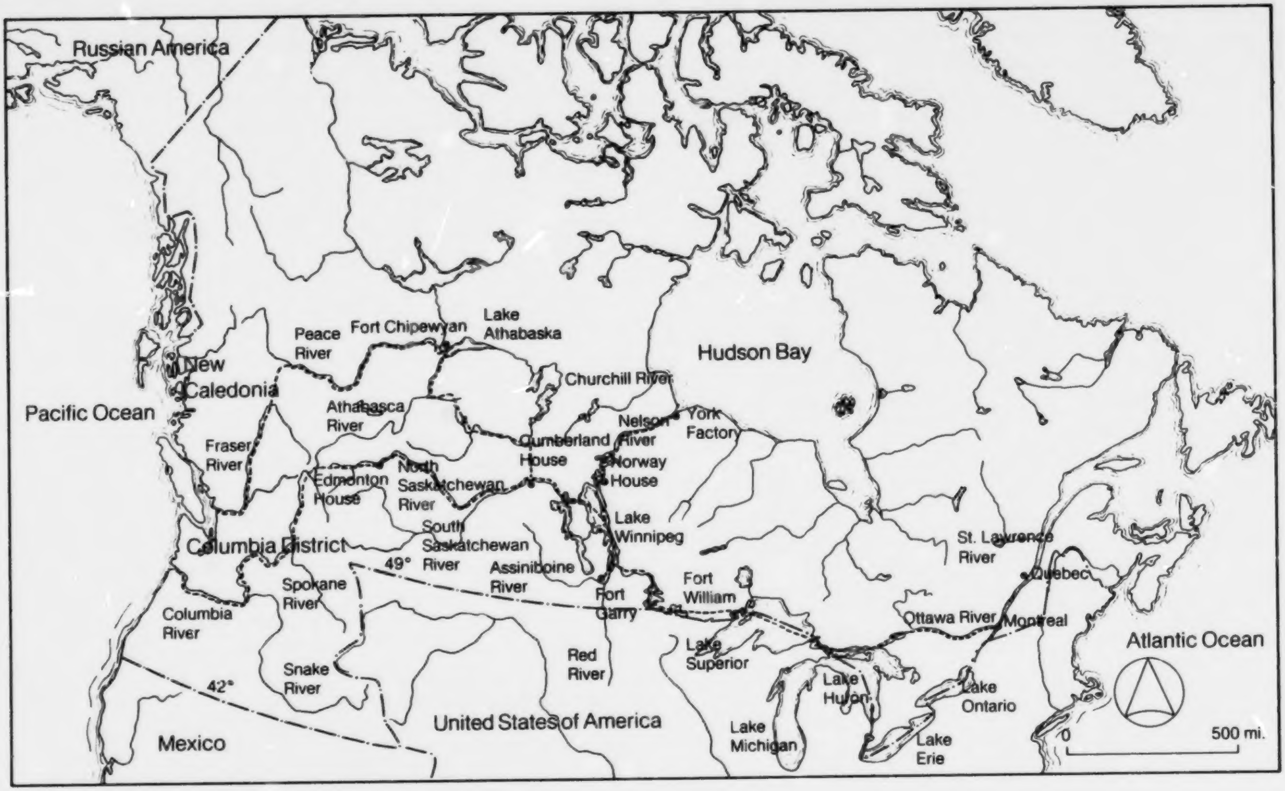
Submitted for publication 1972, by Mary K. Cullen, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Ottawa.

Preface

On 5 May 1925 the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada unveiled a commemorative plaque on the site of Fort Langley, "the First Trading Post on the Pacific Coast of Canada" and the "Birthplace of the Colony of British Columbia." Fort Langley National Historic Park was created in 1955 and in 1956 the governments of Canada and British Columbia jointly undertook a partial restoration of the fort centering around the surviving original building. An intensive cooperative effort involving Eastern and Western historians, architects, archivists and other interested citizens resulted in the completion of the first phase for the centenary of the crown colony of British Columbia in 1958. Since then the absence of a single comprehensive history of the fort has tended to obscure the direction of future site development. To meet this need, in September 1969 the National Historic Parks and Sites Branch started a research project intended to bring together existing information and unearth new data on Fort Langley. The story which emerged from this search became the basis of the interpretative historical display installed at the Big House in 1971. It is presented as "The History of Fort Langley, 1827–96."

The National Historic Parks and Sites Branch acknowledges with gratitude the cooperation of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Public Archives of Canada, the Provincial Archives of British Columbia and other libraries and institutions in making primary source material relating to Fort Langley available for study. Besides granting access to its microfilm collection in the Public Archives of Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company generously gave the author leave to consult its photographic material in Winnipeg and post-1870 documentation in London and to have maps, sketches, photos and advertisements copied for publication. Quotation of Company sources are published with the permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.

1 Transcontinental fur trade routes of the Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company, circa 1820. (*Map by S. Epps.*)


Russian America
Pacific Ocean
New Caledonia
Peace River
Fort Chipewyan
Lake Athabaska
Churchill River
Hudson Bay
Athabasca River
Fraser River
Edmonton House
North Saskatchewan River
Cumberland House
Nelson River
York Factory
Norway House
South Saskatchewan River
Lake Winnipeg
Columbia District
49°
Assiniboine River
Fort Garry
Fort William
Spokane River
Columbia River
St. Lawrence River
Quebec
Ottawa River
Montreal
Atlantic Ocean
Red River
Lake Superior
Snake River
42°
Lake Huron
Lake Ontario
United States of America
Mexico
Lake Michigan
Lake Erie
0
500 mi.

The Hudson's Bay Company Goes to the Pacific

The North American fur trade, begun on the shores of the Atlantic, was slowly but relentlessly driven across the continent. In their pursuit of furs, traders travelled in a northwesterly direction after the luxurious pelts of the colder regions and along the waterways of the Canadian Shield which provided a natural highway into the interior. Costly transport and supply lines steadily propelled expansion over wider areas. After 1760 this westward thrust of Montreal traders forced the Hudson's Bay Company to establish posts at greater distances from the bay. The North West Company pushed beyond the Hudson Bay watershed known as Rupert's Land. It founded posts in the fur-rich Athabaska country and along the river systems of the Pacific Slope.

Before expanding across the Rocky Mountains, the Hudson's Bay Company determined to undertake a vigorous and expensive campaign in Athabaska, the source of Nor'western prosperity. With the establishment of Fort Wedderburn at Lake Athabaska in 1815, the Hudson's Bay Company began a cut-throat competition designed to extort recognition for its fur trade and settlement in Rupert's Land. The disastrous results for the London company in that violent contest prompted a plan to recoup its Athabaska losses by extending trade to the Pacific.[1] By 1821, however, the North West Company was in desperate financial straits and the spectre of continuing, costly rivalry impelled both sides to conclude the struggle.[2] On the way out from Fort Wedderburn in the spring of 1821, the "Bay" men were met by North West traders at Lake Winnipeg with news that a coalition had taken place between the companies.[3]

From June 1821 a 21-year agreement placed the trade of the long-standing rivals in the hands of a remodelled Hudson's Bay Company.[4] As a reward for the merger, the British government issued a licence[5] dated 5 December 1821 granting the new concern a monopoly, also for 21 years, of the fur trade west of the Rockies and northwest of Rupert's Land. Exclusive rights in Rupert's Land continued to apply by virtue of the 1670 "Charter of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay." The reconstituted Hudson's Bay Company henceforth controlled an area of more than three million square miles stretching from the Labrador peninsula to the Pacific Ocean.[6]

The organization which directed the trade of the vast territory was a fusion of North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company elements. By the indenture of March 1821, final authority for policy was vested in a London governor and committee, advised by two members from each company. Administration in North America was initially divided into two departments, each supervised by a governor on the advice of an annual council of field officers who were also shareholders. William Williams was appointed governor of the Southern Department comprising the Hudson Bay watershed south and east of Fort William. The Northern Department, which embraced the monopoly territory from Rainy Lake in the east to the Pacific Ocean in the west, was placed in the charge of George Simpson.[7]

The contest between London and Montreal for the entrepôt of the British fur trade had thus ended in Athabaska. The entrance of the Hudson's Bay Company into the Pacific trade in 1821 opened the era of the great London monopoly which dominated the fur trade from Canada to the Pacific. West of the Rockies where that monopoly was most vigorously opposed, the aggressive spirit which had typified the Nor'Westers' transcontinental drive was now united with the discipline and efficiency of George Simpson in one of the most exciting and assertive phases of the British fur trade in North America.

In 1821 Britain's principal contestants for the fur trade in Pacific North America were Russia and the United States. Russian commerce was the indirect result of scientific expeditions on the eastern fringes of Asia. Fine peltries brought to St. Petersburg by survivors of the Bering-Chirikov expedition of 1746 prompted several traders to exploit the American coast. Among the more efficient contenders was a group which in 1799 received from Czar Paul I a charter granting their company a 20-year monopoly on the coast of America north of 55° north latitude and authority to extend its control southward into unoccupied territory.[8] The chartered Russian American Company began an active program of North American expansion. Alexander Baranov, its chief manager from 1799 until 1818, aimed to develop a new empire on the shores of the Pacific. He established a settlement at Sitka in 1799 (rebuilt in 1804 as New Archangel) and in 1812 he built Fort Ross in California as a fur-trading centre and source of food supplies for the northern colonies. The company maintained a station in the Farallons and it regarded the Hawaiian Islands as a potential field of commerce.[9]

Counterforce to this regime were both British and American maritime fur traders. After Captain James Cook's exploration of the Northwest Coast between 1776 and 1779, his crew's sale of sea otter in the China market sparked international interest in the maritime trade. At the outset nearly 35 British ships dominated the trade,[10] but from 1789 onward, American vessels principally from Boston also culled the coast. When Britain entered the Napoleonic Wars in 1793, the maritime business effectively became the monopoly of the city of Boston.[11]

The Boston merchants used the sea otter as a medium of exchange to purchase Oriental goods for sale in New England. Their trade never reached the stage of unification, but was merely a series of individual efforts which, as sea otter became scarce and competition keen, changed its focus to sandalwood, land furs and other types of exchange.[12] In this latter phase of the maritime fur trade the Yankee petty traders became a particular source of annoyance to the Russian American Company. To meet the decrease in sea otter skins the American ships offered to sell goods to the Russians and freight their furs to China; in their turn the Russian settlements, far from their homeland, came to depend on the Bostonians for many essential supplies.[13] Unfortunately, the Americans brought more than Russian supplies north. They also traded liquor, rifles and ammunition directly with northern Indians for sea otter and land pelts. The Russian concern was not only that this unregulated trade debauched the native people and endangered Russian servants, but also that it forced the Russian American Company to pay higher prices for furs.[14]

When the Russian government renewed the Russian American Company's charter in 1821, it moved to protect the company against the free traders. The revised charter, dated 13 September 1821, extended Russian sovereignty to the "shores of northwestern America . . . commencing from the northern point of the Island of Vancouver under 51° north latitude to Berhing Straits and beyond them."[15] A cordon sanitaire was created around this area by an imperial ukase which warned all foreigners not to approach within 100 Italian miles of the Russian coast.[16] The ukase was primarily directed against the Americans, but it also struck deeply at British interests, which since 1805 were firmly established inland on the Pacific Slope.

While Russians and Americans canvassed the Northwest Coast, British fur traders returned to the Pacific, not by sea, but overland from Canada. Following the transcontinental journey made by Alexander Mackenzie in 1793, Nor'Westers John Stuart and Simon Fraser established a fort at McLeod Lake, the first British trading post west of the Rockies, in 1805.[17] Three years later Fraser descended the river to be named after him while David Thompson explored southward in the Columbia River basin. In an abortive American challenge for the inland fur trade, John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company built Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia in 1811, only to be bought out by the Canadians, who were supported by British naval power during the War of 1812.[18] The Montreal traders established headquarters at Astoria (later Fort George) and subsequently dominated trade in the Pacific interior.

Under the treaty of Ghent in 1814, which stipulated a return to the *status quo ante bellum*, Fort George was formally restored to American jurisdiction.[19] Since Astor was unprepared to reoccupy the fort and regional sovereignty remained in doubt, the Nor'Westers continued in occupation. The Convention of 1818 accepted the 49th parallel as the boundary east of the Rockies, but British and American negotiators failed to agree on a transmontane partition. The result was a ten-year agreement whereby the territory between California and the indeterminate claims of Russian America was to be left open to the subjects of both nations.[20] This joint occupancy west of the Rockies meant the licence of 1821 could not prejudice the trade rights of American citizens.[21] It simply concentrated all British rights to the Oregon trade on the reconstituted Hudson's Bay Company.

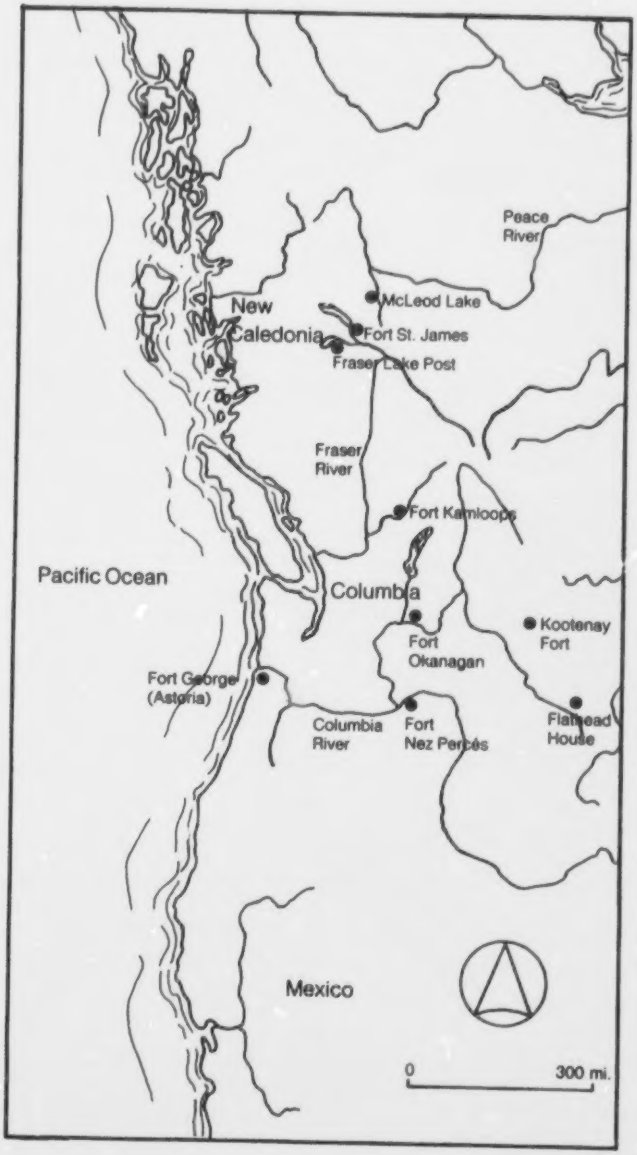
In 1821 the British fur trade on the Pacific Slope therefore faced a dual political situation: on the one hand Russia was encroaching on an area of potential British continental expansion; on the other hand, throughout the vast area north of 42° north latitude the United States competed with the sanction of international treaty. The movements of these two powers were to exert a constant influence in the development of Hudson's Bay Company policy for the Pacific. In its most intimate aspects, however, that policy was initially shaped by the previous enterprise of the North West Company.

The Nor'Westers organized their transmontane posts around the two principal water systems of the Pacific Slope – the Fraser and Columbia rivers. In modern terms their activity encompassed an area stretching from California to northern British Columbia. The northern part of this region around the upper Fraser was known as New Caledonia. To the south, with its headquarters at the mouth of the Columbia River, was the Columbia District.

New Caledonia was viewed by both North West and Hudson's Bay men as an extension of the rich Athabaska region. At the time of the coalition it was still vaguely defined and poorly exploited. The district included four posts: McLeod Lake, Fort St. James on Stuart Lake, Fraser Lake post and Fort George at the confluence of the Stuart and Fraser rivers. George Simpson, writing in his Athabaska journal, estimated there were about "one hundred packs" taken from New Caledonia annually.[22] These fur returns were generally sent across the Rockies to Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabaska, there joining other brigades bound for Fort William and Montreal. District supplies were also transported inland via the long eastern route.

The Columbia District, which contained seven posts, embraced the whole vast watershed of the Columbia and extended as far north as the Thompson River. Six establishments were south of

2 North West Company posts on the Pacific Slope, 1821. (*Map by S. Epps.*)


Peace River
McLeod Lake
New Caledonia
Fort St. James
Fraser Lake Post
Fraser River
Fort Kamloops
Pacific Ocean
Columbia
Fort Okanagan
Kootenay Fort
Fort George (Astoria)
Columbia River
Fort Nez Percés
Flathead House
Mexico
0
300 mi.

the 49th parallel: Fort George, originally Astoria, built by Astor's Pacific Fur Company in 1811; Fort Nez Percés or Walla Walla; Spokane House; Flathead House; Kootenay Fort, and Fort Okanagan. Located northward on the Thompson was Fort Kamloops. The Columbia District sent its furs and received its supplies by ship at Fort George. The immense size of the district made it expensive to maintain and its fur returns were proportionately inconsiderable.[23]

After 1813 the commanding position of the North West Company in the Pacific inland trade induced some of the Columbia traders to indulge their taste for luxury by importing such fanciful items as ostrich plumes, velvets and silk stockings.[24] Their extravagance contributed to substantial losses in the southern district. The profitability of the transmontane venture as a whole was still more acutely limited by the want of an effective system of marketing and transportation.

China was the natural outlet for the furs of the Pacific Northwest, but business there was complicated by the exclusive British trading privileges of the East India Company. The North West Company was able to sell furs at Canton but it could not take away a return cargo of tea or other Chinese produce. It tried to overcome this obstacle by employing the Boston firm of Perkins and Company, which under the protection of the American flag would transport supplies to the Columbia and sell the returns in Canton. The system was unsatisfactory since Perkins and Company received nearly one-fourth of the proceeds and the prices paid for Columbia beaver at Canton were less than the London market value.[25]

Transportation expenses provided the impetus for North West Company expansion to the Pacific and ruined the enterprise thereafter. In searching for a route from Canada to the Pacific, Alexander Mackenzie had hoped to tie the continental fur trade to China and provide the overextended North West Company with access to its more western districts from the Pacific Ocean.[26] His overland route and the subsequent water explorations of Simon Fraser failed to produce a navigable communication with the interior.[27] Meanwhile, the expansion of posts into New Caledonia prompted by these explorations made a shorter supply system even more essential.

The search for a Pacific supply line was continued by John Stuart, who in 1813 discovered a land and water route from New Caledonia to Fort George following the Fraser River 130 miles south, then commencing overland to join the Columbia River at Fort Okanagan.[28] For unknown reasons, full-scale use of the western brigade trail was delayed[29] until Stuart reassumed charge of New Caledonia in January 1821.[30] A few weeks after the union of the two companies (an event of which he was not immediately aware), Stuart established Fort Alexandria at the point of transfer from the Fraser River overland and purchased horses for the journey from Fort Alexandria to Fort Okanagan.[31] Within a year the Pacific link was functioning smoothly.[32]

At the time of the coalition, the North West Company had thus begun to view their Pacific enterprise as a single operation with one centre of administration and transportation. The successful solution to New Caledonia's communication problem promised future savings in labour and expense. Yet in retrospect, a dual system of transportation combined with an uncertain market and extravagant importations had made the Nor'Westers' Pacific venture a costly project, incommensurate in its returns.

In the light of North West Company experience, the remodelled Hudson's Bay Company commenced trade in the Pacific cordillera with some caution. There was hope that the Pacific fur trade might eventually be profitable from the Fraser valley northward,[33] but the Hudson Bay-oriented Company saw New Caledonia as an extension of Rupert's Land rather than a separate entity in itself. One of the first acts of the Northern Council was therefore to reject Stuart's western supply route in favor of transporting the New Caledonia outfit from York Factory.[34] Little was expected in the way of returns from the ill-reputed Columbia department; instead the Company regarded the region as a buffer for the north "as if it does not realize profits no loss is likely to be incurred thereby and it serves to check opposition from the Americans."[35]

The potential of the Columbia valley as a frontier for the northern posts as well as the prospect of diplomatic advantage impelled the Hudson's Bay Company to take immediate measures to strengthen its Columbia position. The arrangement with Perkins and Company was replaced by a system of supply from England in the Company's ships and the sale of Columbia returns on the European market.[36] Fort George was ordered to be abandoned, not only since it had been formally restored to the Americans in 1818, but also because it was situated on the south side of the Columbia River, a region expected to be awarded to the United States in any boundary agreement. In its place the Company ordered the construction of a new post on the north side of the river as a means of firmly establishing title to that area.[37] Finally, it proposed to scour the country to the south and east of the Columbia and appointed trapping expeditions under competent leaders "to get as much out of the Snake country as possible for the next few years."[38]

Long-term policy for the trade of the Pacific Northwest remained to be formulated. The London governor and committee, as directors of a primarily continental enterprise, originally planned their Pacific expansion in terms of an extension of trading posts north and west of the Fraser River.[39] Interest in the potential of a coastal shipping trade as well was prompted by the Russo-American convention of 17 April 1824. Through a similar treaty concluded with Britain a year later, Russia agreed to confine its activity north of 54° north latitude and to open Russian coastal waters to British vessels for ten years.[40] Anticipating this agreement in July 1824, the governor and committee authorized a ship to explore the trading possibilities along the coast.[41] A comprehensive plan of action for continent and coast awaited the visit of young George Simpson and his report on the Pacific.

The last stages of the Athabaska campaign had clearly revealed Simpson's potential for leadership. Then just 33 years old[42] and with scarcely a year in the service, he had made himself familiar with every detail of the Athabaska trade and still displayed the perspective and imagination required in directing the affairs of a large corporation. As governor of the Northern Department, after 1821 Simpson was influential in the reorganization of the fur trade in Rupert's Land. His complete removal of duplicate trading posts and personnel of the two old companies was followed by an insistence on economy at every turn. He approached his work with an inquisitiveness and fervour which demanded personal contact with problems. Simpson travelled tirelessly across the Company domain, probing and investigating such vital matters as transport and communications. As a master of men and a shrewd judge of character, the governor exercised increasingly autocratic control over his council. Still, he knew his men well and took care to learn from them.[43] In 1824 he brought his enthusiastic, revitalizing spirit to Britain's Pacific fur trade.

Before his departure from York Factory on 15 August, Simpson prompted the appointment in council of John McLoughlin as chief factor superintending the area west of the Rockies, which the Company referred to as the Columbia Department.[44] McLoughlin had served the North West Company since 1803 and had participated in the negotiations for coalition. Physically "the Doctor" (so-called by his colleagues in deference to his early medical training) was an imposing figure; a giant of a man with a rangy mane of white hair, *sans toilette* he conveyed "a good idea of the highway men of former Days."[45] He had strong views and, though occasionally exercising a temper, was nonetheless an experienced trader with considerable administrative ability. McLoughlin left York for the Columbia three weeks before Simpson only to be overtaken by the governor travelling at his usual prodigious pace.

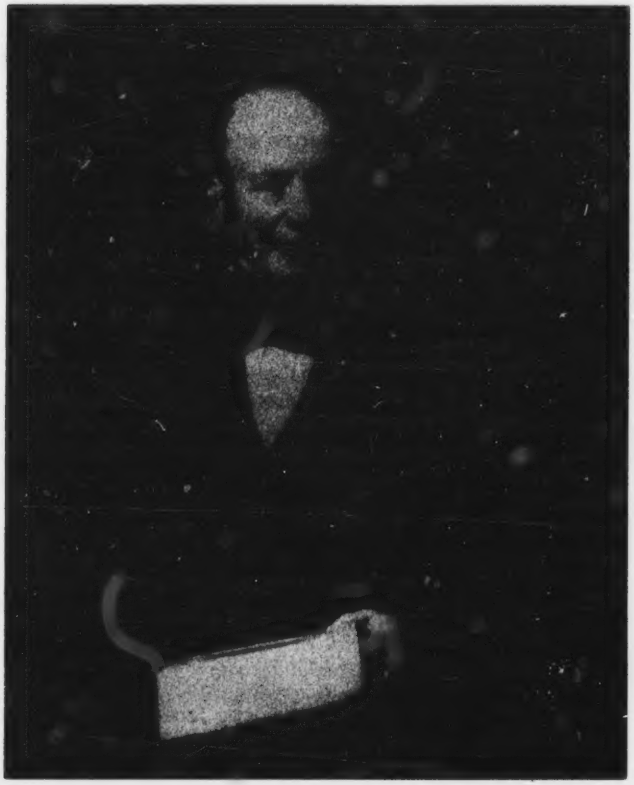
Simpson and his new superintendent arrived at Fort George near the mouth of the Columbia on 8 November 1824, a record 84-day journey from Hudson Bay.[46] During the next five months the governor examined and assessed the Pacific trade in all its aspects. Many basic improvements he inaugurated unilaterally and these changes together with further recommendations of policy he embodied in a comprehensive report to the London committee.[47]

Simpson's first impression was one of utter extravagance and mismanagement. In his thorough manner he rapidly moved to put affairs on a more businesslike footing. He insisted that the Columbia supplies must be cut from 645 to 200 pieces,[48] that agriculture must lighten the expense of imported provisions[49] and that the Columbia staff be reduced from the existing total of 151 to 82.[50] Almost nothing was known of the coast, its navigation or resources. Within a few days of his arrival Simpson dispatched Chief Trader James McMillan with a party of 40 men to acquire a thorough knowledge of the communication and country of the Fraser River.[51]

In the meantime the governor began to take an enlarged view of Company affairs west of the mountains. Though like the London committee he had initially viewed the northern Pacific Slope as a projection of Rupert's Land,[52] Simpson's personal visit to the Columbia impressed him with the distinctive merits of the entire Pacific trade. His fascination with the potential of the coast and its interior country led him to speculate that commerce there could "not only be made to rival, but to yield double the profit that any other part of North America does."[53] For purposes of administration and supply Simpson now saw the whole Pacific business functioning as a unit. New Caledonia must be joined to the Columbia and a diversified coasting trade run in conjunction with the inland business. Further, to end Russian and particularly American competition, an arrangement must be concluded with the East India Company, tying British trade on the Pacific Slope to the China market.[54]

At the centre of Simpson's thinking was the idea of establishing the grand Pacific depot at the mouth of the Fraser River. A move north might ultimately be necessary if the Americans should settle at Fort George, but whether they came to the Columbia or not, the Fraser seemed to possess other advantages. Its situation was central for the most lucrative area of the coastal fur trade and for British expansion northward.[55] Yet effective inland transportation seemed to be the motivating consideration. During his brief visit in the Columbia, Simpson came to the optimistic conclusion that the Fraser was a navigable river which could serve as New Cale-

3 George Simpson, governor of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1821–26; governor in chief of all Hudson's Bay Company territory in North America, 1826–60. (*Hudson's Bay Company Archives.*)



4 John McLoughlin, superintendent of the Columbia Department, 1824–45. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)

donia's much-needed access to the Pacific. This assumption he apparently based on Indian reports[56] and his own personal assessment of the 1808 Fraser-Stuart journey which he stated was executed safely "in the months of June and July when the waves are at their full height and when the Columbia River is impassible."[57] Simpson further suggested that McMillan's exploratory expedition to the Fraser River successfully tested its navigability.[58]

McMillan was a man of experience in the Pacific, having been associated with David Thompson 15 years earlier on the upper waters of the Columbia. The former Nor'Wester became a chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 and served at Red River until he was chosen to accompany Simpson to the Columbia.[59] On 19 November 1824 McMillan led an expedition of 40 men from Fort George north. The party portaged from the Columbia River to Puget Sound and thence followed the channels and bays of the sound to a small stream which fell into Boundary Bay. Ascending that stream (the Nicomekl), they then made a portage to another small river, the Salmon, which emptied into the Fraser about 20 miles above its mouth.[60] At this point the Fraser was a "fine large Stream navigable . . . by craft of about One Hundred Tons."[61] The party travelled, in all, nearly 60 miles upstream in the course of which they saw neither shoal nor rapid. Ice in the upper part of the river prevented them from proceeding much further, but a local Indian tribe[62] informed McMillan and his men that the Fraser as far as the Thompson River was "navigable with a strong current."[63]

The fact that McMillan only managed to examine the lower reaches of the Fraser did not alter Simpson's enthusiasm for that river as his Company's main commercial highway and site of its Pacific depot. In addition to McMillan's favourable report on navigation, the governor submitted other observations made by the reconnaissance party which were conducive to establishing headquarters at the Fraser. Contrary to prevalent fears of the treacherous character of coastal Indians, the peoples inhabiting the lower Fraser proved friendly and seemed "delighted" at the prospect of having the whites settle among them.[64] Throughout the river valley the soil was generally rich and fertile, timber was prodigious and good situations for the site of an establishment existed in almost every reach. McMillan particularly recommended the entrance of the small Salmon River falling in from the south which he had followed in gaining the main stream. There an extensive meadow existed where cattle could be raised and foodstuffs cultivated and the river alone had salmon and sturgeon sufficient for the maintenance of a post.[65]

Simpson proposed a scheme for the establishment of the Fraser River depot which was allied with a bold initiative in the coastal trade. A vessel intended for the China trade would leave England in November 1825, reach Fort George in July 1826, deliver the outfit and take on the furs for China. After disposing of the furs in Canton, the vessel would take on a cargo of Chinese produce and sell it in Lima, Acapulco or some other port where it would pick up the English outfit. In July 1827 it would return with the trade goods for the Columbia. Embarking with the furs of the past season, it would then proceed with people, goods and stores in company with a small coastal vessel (to be built in the country) to the Fraser River. The two ships would remain there until 1 November by which time the establishment would be completed. Then the larger vessel would be dispatched for China while the smaller one would proceed along the coast on a trading expedition, touching at the Russian settlement in Norfolk Sound to see if any business could be done there. Finally, with the arrival of the inland brigades in the spring of 1828, the whole machine would be put in motion with the depot at the Fraser River as its focal point.[66]

The conviction that the Fraser must soon become the nucleus of the Columbia department was reflected in Simpson's interim arrangements for the Pacific trade. According to instructions from the governor and committee in London, Fort George was abandoned and a new depot named Fort Vancouver was built on the north side of the Columbia. Though as a depot the post was inconveniently situated 75 miles from the river mouth and 1-1/4 miles from the riverbank, Simpson insisted Fort Vancouver was merely a "secondary establishment"[67] which would serve temporarily as McLoughlin's headquarters but whose greater purpose would be farming.[68] Because he felt there were advantages in transacting business from one depot, Simpson instructed his Pacific personnel to re-employ Stuart's brigade trail between New Caledonia and the Columbia "until the mouth of the Fraser's River is established."[69] On his return east the governor secured approbation for these arrangements from the annual council at York Factory in July.[70] The entire Pacific strategy required the final sanction of the governor and committee in London and after council Simpson departed for England "to give information on many points that might be essential to its future interests."[71]

December 1825 found Simpson in London conferring with the governor and committee. He had scarcely begun to discuss his Fraser River strategy when he discovered the Company was more immediately concerned with securing a strong case against withdrawal from the Columbia. The joint occupation agreement between Great Britain and the United States would expire in 1828 and it was possible that a boundary might be agreed on before that date. If the Columbia basin was to be used as a frontier for the north, the Company had to obtain the Columbia River as the boundary. Simpson, fresh from his journey to the Pacific, was the obvious person to present the case. Completely reversing his argument in favour of the Fraser as a business highway, he replied to a series of questions from the British Foreign Office by emphatically denying that the Fraser "affords a communication by which the interior Country can be supplied from the Coast, or that it can be depended on as an outlet for the returns of the interior."[72] He added that "the only certain outlet for the Company's trade" was the Columbia River; if its navigation was not free, the Company "must abandon and curtail their trade in some parts, and probably be constrained to relinquish it on the West side of the Rocky Mountains altogether."[73]

Foreign Office requirements postponed consideration of the Fraser river strategy, but did not preclude it. A few weeks after Simpson's testimony, the governor and committee approved his plans for including New Caledonia within the Columbia Department and extending the trade on the coast as well as in the interior.[74] They directed the Fraser River settlement to be established "next season if possible," adding "from the central situation of Frazers River we think it probable that it will be found to be the proper place for the principle depot."[75] In two respects, however, they qualified Simpson's scheme. First of all, marginally successful consignments to Canton in 1824 and 1825 made the committee wary of using the China market for the whole of its Pacific returns.[76] Secondly, since McMillan had explored only the lower reaches of the Fraser, final commitment to a Fraser depot was reserved until the Company had fully ascertained "whether the navigation of the River is favorable to the Plan of making it the principal communication with the interior."[77]

Without deviating greatly from Simpson's original recommendations, the London discussions thus determined Hudson's Bay Company Pacific priorities to be an establishment at the Fraser and the inauguration of a coasting trade. McMillan was chosen to build the new Fraser River post which was to be named Fort Langley in honor of Thomas Langley, a director of the Company.[78] According to Simpson's suggestion, the coasting trade was to be inaugurated with Fort Langley and, to ensure completion of the ship currently on the stocks at Fort Vancouver, the commencement date for both was set for the spring of 1827.[79] In the interval new efforts were to be undertaken to determine the navigability of the Fraser.

During the summer of 1826 Archibald McDonald,[80] clerk and officer in charge of the Thompson River District, went by canoe along the Thompson from Kamloops to the Fraser and examined the main stream by land for about eight miles south. In a pessimistic assessment he suggested "the nature of those two rivers, rolling down with great rapidity in a narrow bed between immense mountains generally speaking render their ascent most laborious, and in places in the main river perhaps impossible but at low water."[81] Chief Factor William Connolly, in charge of New Caledonia District, had James Murray Yale explore the Fraser from Fort Alexandria south to the mouth of the Thompson. Yale reported that in some sections of the river which could not be avoided by portage, the water rushed with such impetuosity that bark canoes could not resist its action. Still he considered that "in moderate waters (i.e. before their rise in the Spring and after they have subsided in the Summer) the Navigation would not be attended with much danger."[82]

These conflicting statements meant the practicability of communication was still in doubt when on 27 June 1827 the expedition set out to establish Fort Langley. In London the governor and committee continued to reserve judgement on the subject of the principal depot. Back at York Factory, however, the indomitable Simpson was confident that his plans for the Fraser could be carried out. He had read the reports of the different parties that had explored the Fraser and had come to the conclusion that "the navigation will be found safe and good if the passage be made at the proper season."[83] In July he instructed McLoughlin that New Caledonia should be outfitted by way of the Fraser the following season.[84] "Fort Langley," Simpson concluded, "will be the Establishment of the next greatest importance to Fort Vancouver and in the course of a few years I have little doubt it will become our principal Depot for the country west of the Mountains."[85]

The Establishment of Fort Langley

Three years after his first visit to the Fraser River, McMillan (now chief factor) returned to construct the establishment that, it was hoped, would serve as western headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was accompanied by François Noël Annance, clerk; Louis Sata Karata, an Iroquois, and Peeopeeoh, a Hawaiian, all of the former expedition. With him as well were two other clerks, Donald Manson and George Barnston, and 19 workmen including carpenters, cooks, blacksmiths and hunters.[1] The party of 25 was transported up the Fraser by the schooner *Cadboro*[2] and arrived at the site of the future Fort Langley on 29 July 1827.

The journey from Fort Vancouver took slightly over a month. Leaving the fort on 27 June, the expedition proceeded in two canoes by way of the Columbia and Cowlitz rivers to Puget Sound. On 4 July they reached Port Orchard, the place appointed to meet the schooner. When three days passed and the vessel had made no appearance, McMillan decided to continue on toward Admiralty Inlet. There, on 11 July, they met the *Cadboro* and embarked on the Fraser.[3] Several unsuccessful attempts were made to enter the river. For a time the vessel was unable to find a deep channel; then, having found one, it dragged anchor and drifted out to sea during the night. The following day entrance was again attempted; the ship grounded but without damage. Finally, after many delays, the expedition entered the mouth of the river on 22 July, in 49°5' north latitude.[4]

Headway up the river was made very slowly and with much deliberation. Near Lulu Island the vessel passed three Cowitchan villages with approximately fifteen hundred inhabitants.[5] On 24 July the party saw two trees marked "HBC," a landmark left by the previous expedition of 1824. The *Cadboro* reached a point opposite the Pitt River that evening and anchored later above "Pim Island."[6] A "tolerably good situation for a fort"[7] existed on the south side of the river, but McMillan hoped to find a better location and the vessel continued upstream. Three days later a site was selected some miles above the Salmon River[8] and orders were given to warp the ship to her destination. Arriving there about noon on 28 July, the *Cadboro* found it impossible to get within 300 yards of the shore because of the "shoalness of the water."[9] Since it was necessary to get the vessel near the fort site, both to cover the operations of the builders and to facilitate the discharge of cargo, the vessel was allowed to drift down the Fraser to just below the junction of the Salmon River.[10] Here on 30 July preparations were begun for erecting the fort which was destined to play a critical role in extending and consolidating British trade on the Pacific coast.

Admittedly, the motley crew which disembarked from the *Cadboro* conveyed scant evidence of such an important mission. In the course of the month's journey, the total work force of 25 had been reduced by a quarter, five of the men being incapacitated by severe gonorrhea and another, Vincent, "suffering dreadfully from Venereal."[11] Not only manpower was crippled; the best of the horses had died on the passage and the remaining three were so weak when landed that they were unable to render any substantial assistance.[12] McMillan nevertheless was determined to muster his forces and on 1 August the remaining 19 men began to clear the ground for Fort Langley.[13]

The task was neither rapid nor easy. One of the biggest obstacles to the small work force was the great density and size of the timber. The forest on the bank of the river was almost impenetrable, with many of the trees measuring three fathoms in circumference and upwards of 200 feet high.[14] To make matters worse the ground was completely covered with "thick underwood, interwoven with Brambles and Briars."[15] Fires kindled to consume the cuttings of timber that had been felled quickly communicated with this surrounding bush. On one occasion the site was so completely enveloped in flame and clouds of smoke that "it was with great difficulty that the People succeeded in getting the Conflagration checked."[16]

Another source of interference to the building was the various Indian tribes that passed in continued succession upstream on their annual migration to the salmon fishery. Curiosity prompted much of the native population to make a personal investigation of white activity. McMillan attempted to trade, but more than once pilfering by the natives compelled him to order everyone off the premises.[17] Some fear was entertained that the Indians actually meant serious harm. Before the expedition landed, reports circulated that the natives planned to annihilate the whole party as soon as it came ashore.[18] Again it was believed that some of the fires had been set by the Indians with the intention of forcing the Company to abandon the establishment.[19]

Considering these obstacles, it was with some justification that McMillan dryly concluded, "the country here is very unfavorable for hurry in building Forts."[20] In a letter to McLoughlin dated 15 September 1827, he summarized the circumstances which continued to retard progress. He suggested:

> *Suppose yourself beginning to establish within a mile of Fort George with a few sickly Canadians, where the wood growsth* [sic] *that a Man takes a day to cut down a tree perhaps not to be had within half a mile of you and then must be sawn before you can get them* [sic] *dragged to the place, and to this Indians without number and you will have some Idea of our situation.*[21]

5 The schooner *Cadboro*, 72 tons, one of the Hudson's Bay Company's coastal fleet, 1824–61. (*Hudson's Bay Company Archives*.)

6 Fort Langley, 1827, showing McMillan's 1824 journey. (*Map by S. Epps*.)

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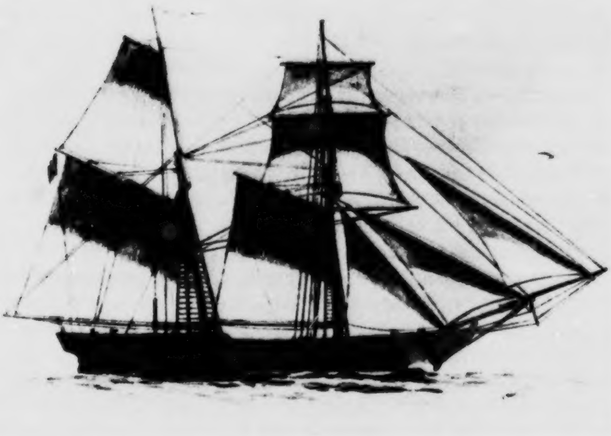

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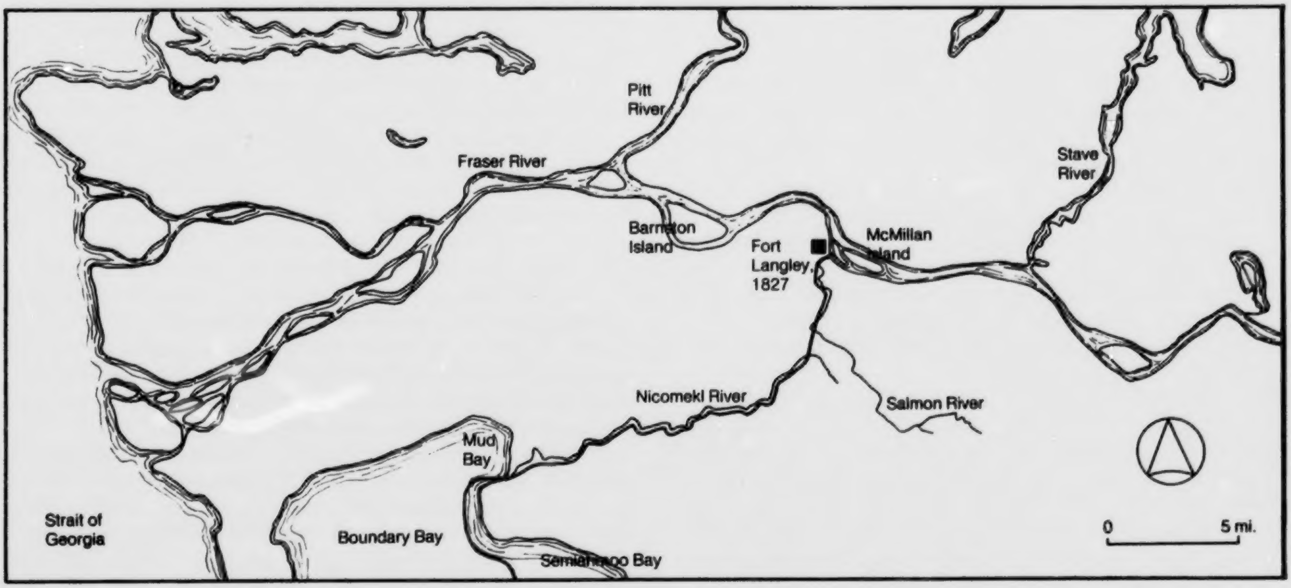
Pitt River
Fraser River
Stave River
Barnston Island
Fort Langley, 1827
McMillan Island
Nicomekl River
Salmon River
Mud Bay
Strait of Georgia
Boundary Bay
Semiahmoo Bay
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5 mi.

Despite annoyances, Fort Langley steadily took shape. Within a week of arrival the expedition had prepared materials for a bastion and cut pickets for the fort walls. On 11 August the bastion was nearly at its height and two men were sent to raise cedar bark for the roof.[22] So much bark was required that it was soon found convenient to purchase it from the Indians in trade for buttons, rings and other articles.[23] By Monday, 20 August, most of the picketing had been cut and hauled to the site and the following day four men began digging a trench three feet deep for the palisades.[24] A second bastion was finished on 31 August and a week later, on 8 September 1827, McMillan reported that "the picketing of the Fort was completed and the Gates hung."[25] The rectangle inside was 40 by 45 yards; the palisade was 4 to 5 inches thick and 15 feet high. The two bastions, each 12 feet square, were built of 8-inch logs and had lower and upper floors, the latter being occupied by artillery.[26] The Indians had already begun to conjecture for what purpose the ports and loopholes were intended[27] and "the *Tout Ensemble* made a formidable enough appearance," especially in the eyes of those who had seen nothing of the kind before.[28]

With enclosure secure, the fort was sufficiently safe for the *Cadboro* to retire. Yet before the vessel could proceed on a trading excursion north, it was necessary to build a storehouse for the Fort Langley outfit. The structure was completed on 14 September and immediately stocked with the provisions, tools and trading goods for the year.[29] On the morning of 18 September, under a salute of three guns from the newly built bastions, the *Cadboro* sailed slowly down the river, leaving McMillan and 14 men to complete living arrangements and commence business.[30]

It had taken six weeks to construct a wall of safety, but another month was to elapse before the post assumed some comfort. The rude bark shelters which the Company had used as dwellings were now removed to make room for more permanent quarters.[31] The outside shell of the main dwelling was finished on 22 September and promised to make a "snug and comfortable" abode. It measured 30 feet long by 15 feet wide and was divided into two rooms, each provided with a fireplace and two windows.[32] By 19 October the houses for the men were nearly completed and the garrison was again in the woods squaring timber for other structures.[33] Although building continued throughout the winter, the completion of Fort Langley was officially recognized on 26 November. That afternoon a flagstaff was erected in the southeast corner of the fort; "Mr. Annance officiated in baptizing the establishment and the men were regaled in celebration of the event."[34]

Life at Langley was similar in many respects to other Hudson's Bay Company posts. The men were engaged at a fixed salary on one- or two-year contracts and were responsible to the officer in charge of the establishment. Laziness, unruliness and disobedience were not tolerated, transgressors being promptly flogged or put in irons.[35] There were no white women, but the men took Indian wives, a practice which reconciled them to wilderness life and also helped foster alliances favourable to trade. Numerous entries in the Fort Langley journal indicate that the company took full advantage of this custom. On one occasion when an Indian arrived with still more women for the accommodation of the fort, McMillan concluded that this commerce had begun to supersede the beaver trade and "the whole concern was ordered off."[36]

Ample resources for rations enabled the garrison "to live pretty well."[37] A small start of farming was made and in the fall of 1828 the first crop of potatoes yielded 2,010 bushels.[38] Sturgeon could be had at times; there were some deer and wild berries were abundant.[39] But the mainstay of the fort was salmon. During the month of August fresh salmon was supplied by the Indians on such advantageous terms that McMillan remarked, "had we salt we might cure any quantity without moving from the Fort, and as reasonable a rate as the same can be procured anywhere else."[40] For winter use enough dried salmon was bought from the natives "to feed all the people of Rupert's Land."[41]

Fort Langley's raison d'être, of course, was the prosecution of the fur trade. From August 1827 to February 1828 the returns of the establishment amounted to 938 beaver and 268 otter.[42] It was an unflattering result and while little more might have been expected in so short a period, there were other fundamental reasons for what McMillan considered an unsuccessful season.

In the first place, the competition of American traders had created a climate in which Fort Langley was unable to maintain the uniform standard of trade.[43] Thus McMillan confided to his superintendent,

In consequence of the Americans having visited the Straits last Spring we found it impossible to procure Skins in that quarter except at the same rate at which these people had carried on their Trade, which will be a matter for your serious consideration, and a point on which I would wish to be made acquainted with when I next hear from you.[44]

Explaining the situation in greater detail, the chief factor added,

the Indians about here laugh at us when we ask them five skins for a Blanket, and first on our arrival they all took their skins back, now we begin to get a few at the rate of 4-1/2 beaver for a 2-1/2 pt. Blanket. The Americans sold them 2 yards of fine thick blue duffle for 2 skins which is far finer than our duffle and nearly dou-

> *ble the size of our Blankets, they must have sold a large quantity as all the Indians of the Gulf are supplied with that article, and should they visit once more the Sound our Trade is dished for a few years.*[45]

If Fort Langley was going to gain a greater share of the coastal trade, a more flexible tariff was obviously necessary. In his reply of 27 November, McLoughlin therefore urged McMillan to adopt "the price most suitable to our views and interests."[46] This price-war policy was confirmed in London two months later. Having renewed the joint occupancy agreement for an indefinite period,[47] the governor and committee declared that the Americans must be opposed, not by violence, but by a conscious and persistent policy of underselling.[48] Although it had come too late to alter the returns of the first season, the policy was to have an appreciable effect on the future trade of Fort Langley.

The life style of the local Indians was a second factor affecting the resources of the post. Since the sea and river supplied their wants plentifully, they were relatively independent of the whites for the necessities of life.[49] It was only with the passage of time that the British fur traders would be able to heighten the desire for European goods and increase Indian attention to the fur trade by which these products were secured.

Finally, the success of the fur trade depended in a great measure on the respect which Fort Langley had yet to establish among the numerous natives. During the first year of its existence the post was constantly harassed by threats of extermination. War parties waved their weapons menacingly as they passed on their way up the river to raid unsuspecting villages; at night Indians threw stones at the men on watch[50] and rumours were brought to the fort of the impending murder of the whites. One report was only too true. Having brought the letters from home for the first Christmas at Langley, five men were killed by the Klallams of Puget Sound on their return journey to Fort Vancouver.[51] It was felt that unless these deaths were immediately punished, the security and commerce of the new fort would be jeopardized. On 17 June 1828 an expedition of about 60 men under the direction of Chief Trader Alexander McLeod left Fort Vancouver, destroyed the Klallam village and avenged the murders.[52]

The Fraser valley Indians liked to threaten the fur traders of Fort Langley, but most of their time was spent in defending themselves against the dreaded tribes of Vancouver Island. When two parties of Cowitchans passed on their way to "kill the Chiliquiyoyks" on 13 and 19 March 1828, McMillan noted that "this warfare Keeps the Indians of this vicinity in Such Continual alarm, that they cannot turn their attention to anything but the care of their family and that they do but poorely."[53] He was convinced that "unless the Company Supports them Against those lawless villains little exertions can be expected from them."[54]

While Fort Langley was thus learning how to win the confidence of the Pacific Indians and to undermine its American competitors, Simpson was undertaking his second journey of inspection from Hudson Bay to the Pacific Coast. He was accompanied by Chief Trader Archibald McDonald, designated to replace McMillan in charge of Fort Langley, and by Dr. Richard J. Hamlyn, the incumbent medical officer at Fort Vancouver.[55] Leaving York Factory on 12 July 1828,[56] the party took just two months to reach Stuart Lake, one of the sources of the Fraser River and the site of the district headquarters of New Caledonia.[57] It was Simpson's first visit to New Caledonia and he was gratified to find that many steps had already been taken to implement his recommendations of 1824. Accordingly, for purposes of supply the district was now attached to the Columbia,

> *the mode of transport being from Fort Vancouver to Okanagan by Boats, from Okanagan to Alexandria by Horses, from Alexandria to Stewarts Lake by North Canoes, and From Stewart's Lake to the outposts by a variety of conveyances, vizt., large and small canoes, Horses, Dog Sleds and Men's backs.*[58]

To reduce the costs of this circuitous route the governor still felt the Fraser River would provide the most efficient transportation and he therefore determined to ascertain, once and for all, the navigability of that river. In the course of his journey from New Caledonia to the mouth of the Fraser he would make the final decision on whether Fort Langley should become the principal depot of the Pacific Northwest.

The governor's party set out from Stuart Lake on 24 September and, descending the Fraser about 300 miles, arrived at Fort Alexandria three days later.[59] This part of the navigation was "safe and tolerably good, the current Strong and abundance of Water, with many short rapids, but none of them dangerous."[60] In order to examine the possible subsidiary route by means of the Thompson River as well as the Fraser itself, the party was now divided into two. James Murray Yale with 14 men and two canoes was to continue along the main stream to the forks of the Fraser and Thompson rivers; Simpson, with McDonald, Hamlyn and five men, proceeded across land to Kamloops and thence along the Thompson to the Fraser.[61]

The Thompson the governor found "to be exceedingly dangerous"[62] if not impassable. From Kamloops Lake to its junction with the Fraser, the river was an increasing succession of violent rapids and dalles.[63] Most of these the contingent managed to shoot, but in one of the last rapids, McDonald recorded, "we were nearly swamped, for in three swells we were full to the thafts, and the danger was increased by the unavoidable necessity of running over a strong whirlpool while the boat was in this unmanageable state."[64] "Indeed," Simpson complained, "there was no comfort in the whole passage of this turbulent River, as the continual plunging from one Rapid into another kept us as wet, as if we dragged through them."[65] In this damp state the governor's party reached the forks on the morning of 8 October where they met Yale and his men encamped with a large body of Indians awaiting their arrival.[66]

Yale's report on the middle part of the Fraser was more encouraging. He had completed nearly 300 miles from Fort Alexandria travelling smoothly through a narrow channel and rapid current, and making no more than three portages totalling less than half a mile.[67] This information was highly satisfactory to Simpson for it meant that nearly three quarters of the Fraser fully answered his hopes. It now became necessary to examine the remaining fourth of the river where, it was apprehended, greater difficulties might be encountered.[68]

The suspicion was correct for "almost immediately on starting the character and appearance of the navigation became totally changed."[69] McDonald describes this part of the river in some detail, but Simpson's journal is probably more vivid. Excitedly the governor wrote,

The banks now erected themselves, into perpendicular Mountains of Rock from the Waters edge, the tops enveloped in clouds, and the lower parts dismal and rugged in the extreme; the descent of the Stream very rapid, the reaches short, and at the close of many of them, the Rocks . . . overhanging the foaming Waters, pent up, to from 20 to 30 yds. wide, running with immense velocity and momentarily threatening to sweep us to destruction. In many places, there was no possibility of Landing to examine the dangers to which we approached, so that we were frequently, hurried into Rapids before we could ascertain how they ought to be taken, through which the craft shot like the flight of an Arrow, into deep whirlpools which seemed to sport in twirling us about, and passing us from one to another, until their strength became exhausted by the pressure of the Stream, and leaving their water logged craft in a sinking state.[70]

In this manner the greater part of two days was occupied, two days during which Simpson's cherished idea for transportation on the Pacific Slope was plainly and unequivocally condemned. Scarcely 100 miles from the mouth of the river the governor was forced to conclude that "Frazers River, can no longer be thought of as a practicable communication with the interior."[71] Regretfully he informed the governor and committee,

it was never wholly passed by water before, and in all probability never will again . . . . altho we ran all the Rapids in safety, being perfectly light, and having three of the most skilful Bowsmen in the country, whose skill however was of little avail at times, I should consider the passage down, to be certain Death, in nine attempts out of Ten. I shall therefore no longer talk of it as a navigable stream, altho' for years past I had flattered myself with the idea, that the loss of the Columbia would in reality be of very little consequence to the Honble. Coys, interests on this side of the Continent; but to which I now, with much concern find, it would be ruinous unless we can fall upon some other practicable route.[72]

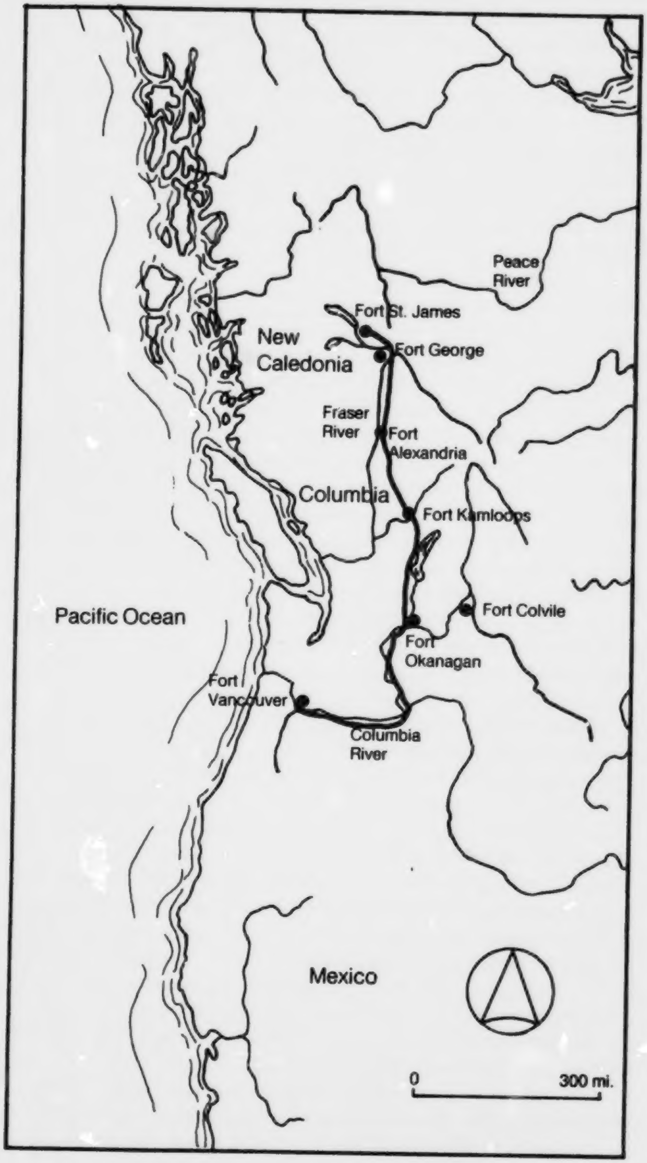
A frank and disarming admission, Simpson's conclusion was to have a profound influence on the future course of Pacific development and the role of Fort Langley in particular.

About 8:00 p.m. on 10 October 1828 the men on watch at the new fort reported canoes and singing up the Fraser and in a few momentsMcMillan and his staff welcomed their governor.[73] It was a happy occasion and the little post was not only anxious but also able to provide the comfort and repose so hardly earned by the governor and his fellow travellers. In addition to the main dwelling house, men's quarters and store which had been completed the previous fall, there were now two other buildings; one a good dwelling house with an excellent cellar, a spacious garret and two well-finished chimneys, the other a low building with two square rooms, a fireplace in each and an adjoining kitchen made of slab.[74] A well-stocked larder enhanced the snugness of the accommodation. Outside the fort there were three fields of potatoes with 30 bushels planted in each; inside, the provision shed exclusive of the table stores was furnished with 'three thousand dried salmon, sixteen tierces salted ditto, thirty six cwt. flour, two cwt. grease, and thirty bushels salt."[75]

Simpson was delighted with his reception at Fort Langley and the respectable footing on which the establishment had been placed in so short a time. He commended the efforts the post had made to gain the confidence of the local Indians[76] and its virtual independence of imported provisions.[77] Though his journey down the Fraser had proved that Fort Langley could not serve as the principal depot, Simpson considered the new fort could fully answer its second object which was to form an important adjunct of the coasting trade.[78] This role was projected in this dispatch to the governor and committee, which stated:

I am in hopes this Post will become a valuable acquisition to the Business, and that in co-operation with the Vessel to be employed in transporting its outfits and returns, will secure the Trade of the Straits of St. Jean de Fucca and inland of Vancouvers Island, which has hitherto fallen into the hands of the Americans.[79]

The Hudson's Bay Company brigade route to the interior, 1824. (*Map by S. Epps.*)


Peace River
Fort St. James
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Fraser River
Fort Alexandria
Columbia
Fort Kamloops
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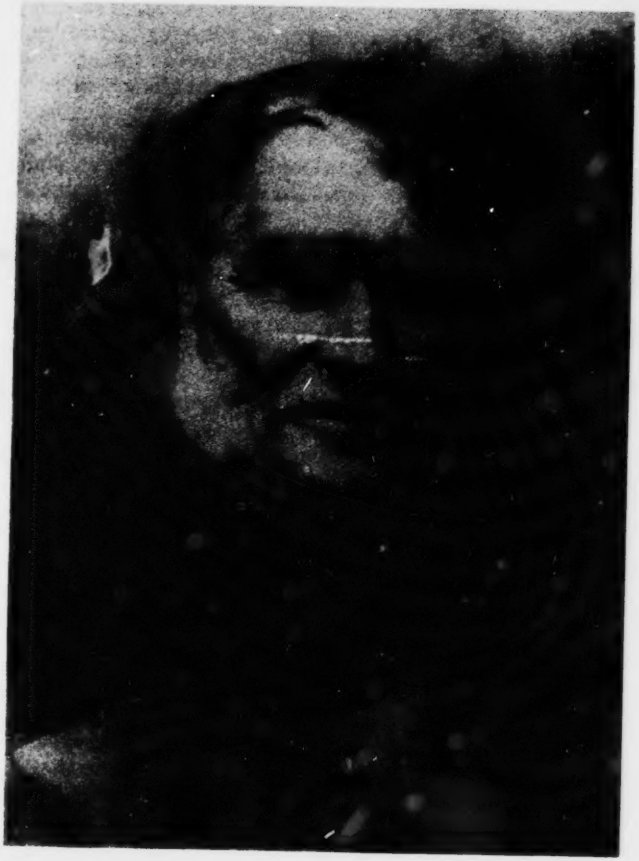
8 Archibald McDonald, officer in charge of Fort Langley, 1828–33. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)



The Coastal Trade

Hudson's Bay Company participation in the Pacific coastal trade was motivated by nothing less than a desire to eliminate both Russian and American competition from the Pacific Slope. For many years Russian trade with Indian middlemen had steadily eaten away at the Hudson's Bay Company's northern interior trade. The Anglo-Russian Convention of 28 February 1825 provided scope for continental expansion of the British fur trade, confining the Russians to the Alexander Archipelago and a narrow strip of the mainland from 54°40 north latitude along the coastal range to the 141st meridian and by that degree to the Arctic Ocean. An additional clause in the convention provided an open invitation to undercut the Russian coastal trade by conceding to British subjects the permanent right of free navigation of rivers flowing through its coastal strip and free trade on the coast for ten years.[1] Company coastal expansion in the next decade aimed to utilize this invitation although it was against the American coasters who posed the most immediate threat to the British fur trade that the Hudson's Bay Company directed the first thrust of its maritime effort.

The American sea captains with whom the Hudson's Bay Company had to contend were primarily engaged in trading land furs with coastal Indians who traded with the natives of the interior. Unlike their Russian and British rivals, the Americans represented no one company and operated solely from ships. Their capital was limited and only an elaborate commercial cycle dependent on commerce in supplies enabled them to stay in business. The cycle usually commenced in the fall when coasters from New England and New York were outfitted for a three-year cruise. Rounding the Horn in December, they called at the Hawaiian Islands, took on fresh provisions and left behind what was not required for the trade of the first season. They arrived on the Northwest Coast in March, traded furs at various locations and usually visited the Russian American Company's establishment at Norfolk Sound where they exchanged provisions for sea otter pelts. In September they either cruised southward to the Spanish settlements to pick up additional supplies and sometimes a cargo of timber or salmon, or returned directly to the Hawaiian Islands. Winter was spent in the islands or on a voyage to Canton to sell the furs. The process was repeated a second year and the third the coaster proceeded to China and thence to the eastern seaboard of the United States laden with Chinese produce.[2]

The Hudson's Bay Company coastal strategy discussed at Fort Vancouver in 1828 aimed to exploit two principal weaknesses in this system; (1) dependence on sales to China and Russia, and (2) lack of capital. The London committee ultimately rejected Simpson's 1824 recommendation to sell furs in China for, like the Nor'Westers, they had to deal through the agency of the East India Company and their China experience proved to be just as unprofitable. Fortunately, by 1828 the Chinese market posed less of a threat since its price for pelts was declining.[3] Simpson and McLoughlin hoped to destroy the other American market by effecting an agreement with the Russians to supply manufactured articles and provisions at prices the Americans could not afford to match. While negotiations were proceeding on this front, a combination of Company trading forts and ships would undertake an intensive campaign to spoil American profits by reducing prices of goods to the coastal Indians below the American cost of supply.[4] Fort Langley, situated near the coast and assigned jurisdiction over Juan de Fuca Strait and the inland of Vancouver Island, was the first link in the chain of posts intended to eliminate American competition.

The limited experience of the Fraser River post in the Pacific fur trade had already indicated the futility of maintaining a fixed tariff in the face of American competition. As long as opposition coasters were in the region, McMillan was forced to trade at American prices.[5] The object of monopolizing the trade required more drastic reductions in the Company tariff. Even though the price paid on the coast for skins had reached 50 per cent of the London market value, "in order to strike at the root of the opposition" the Company proposed to increase prices another 25 per cent. "The Americans," Simpson glibly reported, "cannot afford to give such prices and must consequently withdraw."[6]

From October 1828, application of the price policy at Fort Langley was the responsibility of Chief Trader Archibald McDonald. A native of Glencoe Appin, Scotland, McDonald was now about 43 years old. Before entering the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1820, he had studied the rudiments of medicine and acted as agent for Lord Selkirk at Red River. He was sent to Fort George on the Columbia as accountant in September 1821. In 1826 he assumed charge of the Thompson River District and undertook explorations of the Thompson and Fraser rivers in the attempt to find a practicable route to the interior. In the opinion of Simpson he was a jovial fellow, "full of laugh and small talk," a complete contrast to the austere McMillan; "the former is all jaw and no work the latter all work and no jaw."[7] Still, McDonald was considered to be well informed and, being fairly articulate, his jaw ran to the benefit of the historian. His daily record of the 1828 journey from York Factory[8] was followed up by detailed correspondence from Fort Langley providing an illuminating account of its struggle to oust the American coasters.

McDonald was to attempt to buy the furs of the Indians before the arrival of opposition and to offer prices sufficiently attractive to dissuade the Indians from retaining their furs for the Americans. Usually the natives were encouraged to trade at the fort itself, but in times of greater opposition Company trading parties were dispatched with supplies throughout the region. Either process presupposed amicable relations with the Indians on the one hand and an abundance of the right trading goods on the other. During his four-year tenure at Fort Langley McDonald was to experience difficulties with both.

Like his predecessor, McDonald found his central problem with the local Indians was less their threat to the fort than their abiding fear of the Yulcultas which rendered them almost useless to the fur trade. With every alarm of the fearful tribe from Vancouver Island, Langley's neighboring Quantlans moved within the shadow of the fort for protection. At such times there was "not the appearance of a Beaver" and McDonald recorded,

> *I see hunting [furs] themselves is perfectly out of the question. Their dread of the enemy is incredible – they even desist from Appearing in the water in any manner at the risk of Starvation with the Yewkaltas are reported to be near, & – that is not Seldom.*[9]

McMillan had concluded that some order might be instilled in business affairs should the fur traders actually defend their neighbours. It was on this basis that McDonald hoped for a material improvement of returns in the spring of 1829.

The one and only battle between the whites of Fort Langley and the West-Coast Indians took place at the mouth of the Fraser on 21 March 1829. Yale, Annance and a party of ten men were returning from the Cowlitz portage where they had entrusted an Indian runner with a packet of letters and accounts for Fort Vancouver. As they entered the southern channel of the Fraser delta, they were met by nine canoes, each with an average of 25 to 30 men, evidently prepared to stop them. The subsequent encounter was dramatically described by McDonald:

> *By this time everything being made snug on board and a resolution formed to rush thro' with the Flag up and a cheerful song, the Gentlemen kept their eyes upon them. Finding there was no chance of decoying them or passing down with safety they instantly put about and stemmed the current . . . : no shot was fired until our people were fairly within the point and right in front of the Canoes . . . as they commenced the firing they began to approach gradually – the Boat now getting out of slack water had to contend with a brisk current along side of a steep bank, of which the Savages took immediate advantage, and the very two Canoes that first reconoitred made for the shore – a battle now becoming inevitable, the Boat also dropped to shore but from some neglect amongst themselves all were thrown into an alarming dilemma for a moment by allowing it to shear out again when but seven men had landed. These however kept the Indians below at sufficient distance until the two Gentlemen with the other men hook or by crook got ashore with the ammunition, and rendered the position taken so formidable to the blood thirsty villains, that in about 15 minutes the whole brigade of not an Indian under 240 was completely repulsed, and down the main branch into the open Gulph.*[10]

The bravery of the Fort Langley men lost nothing in the telling. It was the kind of tale McDonald relished and to the governor, chief factors and chief traders he proudly announced that "all the Indians within the River have come to congratulate us on the wonderful triumph over the invincible Yewkeltas and are most desirous to become our Allies when 'tis their turn."[11]

Ultimately Fort Langley's gloriously won alliances proved only as economically sound as its prices. In March 1829 the American coasters *Owhyhee* and *Convoy* arrived in Columbia with the announced intention of making a prolonged stand against the Hudson's Bay Company. Owned by Josiah Marshall and Dixey Wildes of Boston, these vessels at once began trading at a lower tariff than that of the Company.[12] Since the Quantlans and Musquams of the Fraser valley were less inclined to hunt than to act as middlemen for such Puget Sound tribes as the Klallams, the effect of this American competition was quickly felt at Fort Langley. McDonald promptly reduced the old tariff from four and five skins to two, two-and-one-half and three skins per two-and-one-half-point blanket.[13] On one occasion when a Sinnahome chief from the Cowlitz portage came to trade, McDonald noted in the Fort Langley journal that their stock of blankets was greater than he "ever knew before going out of a Fort for the same quantity of Furs." For 35 beaver and 10 otter he had traded 11 blankets, a pound of brass collar wire, a pound of fine beads and a number of smaller presents.[14]

Competition in prices was parallelled, if not equalled, by competition in types of goods. Besides the popular stout white blanket,[15] that article in greatest demand at Langley was the gun. Extended destructive campaigns by the better-armed Yulcultas had created a desire for guns among the rival coastal tribes. As McDonald argued, if Fort Langley did not accommodate the Indians, the American vessels would.[16] Thus, though the Company theoretically admitted the impropriety of giving arms and ammunition in trade and while it usually kept the price of guns high (20 beaver skins) during the maritime contest, Indian trading guns were a major trade item for price reduction at Fort Langley and other coastal establishments.

American rivalry made the delayed appearance of the 1829 outfit a matter of acute anxiety at the Fraser River post. By June 1829 the schooner expected in March had still not arrived. The Langley Indians, hoping to see the vessel at any moment "with a vast quantity of goods," were reluctant to part with their furs.[17] McDonald managed to persuade some Quantlans to trade their beaver, but he was not sanguine that Fort Langley could draw more furs in trade to the south. To undersell the opposition the sacrifice in trade goods had to be considerable. On 17 June the chief trader recorded, "force of property alone will now secure furs in this quarter – an Indian was here a few days ago with a Blanket which costs them on board the [American] Vessel but 2 Beaver, & did not appear an inferior one neither."[18]

When the schooner *Cadboro* at length arrived in mid-July, it was found that instead of increasing the order to meet the opposition, even the original requisition was incomplete. The cause for the deficiency and delay was the wreck of the Hudson's Bay Company's annual supply ship. While entering the Columbia River on 10 March 1829, the *William and Ann* ran aground on the south bar, its crew and cargo totally lost. The *Ganymede*, which had set out from London in consort with the *William and Ann*, arrived safely in early May, but its cargo was extensively damaged.[19] With no reserve of goods on hand, the two small ships, *Vancouver* and *Cadboro*, and the two forts, Langley and Vancouver, were left almost completely vulnerable in the face of the American coasters.[20]

For the remainder of outfit 1829, Fort Langley valiantly covered the deficiency in trade goods, slightly increasing its fur returns. The *Cadboro* had delivered only 50 blankets, but with the help of a few woollens taken across the Cowlitz portage from the Columbia in the fall and by keeping up the tariff to two and three skins per blanket, the post managed to pick up 1,600 beaver.[21] "We could not of course think of underselling our rivals," noted McDonald, "nor indeed would it have been good policy in us, while we had not the where-withal to satisfy them to invite here Indians that received a Blanket at home for a Beaver."[22]

In November 1829 McDonald spent 12 days at Fort Vancouver conferring with McLoughlin on the Fort Langley arrangements for the following year. Two topics predominated in the discussions – the salmon fishery and the coastal fur trade. While building Fort Langley in 1827 McMillan had forseen the possibilities of large-scale salmon curing. McDonald traded and cured over 7,000 salmon in August 1829 and hoped to be assigned enough coopers to develop salmon packing to 500 barrels yearly. His enthusiasm for the project was shared by McLoughlin who saw trade in timber, salmon and other articles as a supplementary source of profit which would greatly strengthen the hand of the Company against its competitors. Unfortunately, a shortage of manpower in the Columbia Department necessitated a reduction of the Langley staff from 15 to 12 and concentrated the full attention of the remaining complement on the coastal fur trade. Besides sending out trapping and trading parties, Fort Langley would supplement the personnel and direct the operations of a vessel.[23] A convoy of three ships, the *Isabella*, *Dryad* and *Eagle*, was soon expected from England; the first two were to remain for service on the coast. When they arrived, the schooner *Vancouver*, now plying near the Columbia River, was to be attached to Fort Langley for trade about Puget Sound and Juan de Fuca Strait.[24]

The wreck of another supply ship, the *Isabella*, on the bar of the Columbia in May 1830, almost destroyed the Company's coastal offensive for a second year. Although the cargo was salvaged, there was now only one extra vessel for the coast, which made it impossible either to build a new coastal fort at Nass Harbour or to assign a ship solely for the use of Fort Langley. Nass was postponed and in July the *Eagle*, *Cadboro* and *Vancouver* were dispatched on a trading expedition northward. At the mouth of the Fraser, McDonald had the *Vancouver* detached from the squadron to bring the "abundant" outfit up to Fort Langley and then to make a short trip toward Admiralty Inlet, New Dungeness and other places for the purposes of trade. The schooner spent a month in the Puget Sound area with Langley trader Annance radically underselling Captain Dominus of the *Owhyhee*. The proceeds of the voyage amounted to a scant 130 skins at a phenomenal cost – 30 skins left in credit, 55 given in clothing and gratuities and 45 in arms. The object, as McDonald noted, was not Company gain. Dominus had been challenged and his trade rendered that much less profitable.[25]

During outfit 1831 the Company was able to make its first vigorous advance against the American coasters. Fort Simpson, established at Nass Harbour in May, became the centre of coastal opposition under the direction of Peter Skene Ogden. Ogden kept as many as three Company vessels on the heels of the American coastal traders, paying two and three times more than the opposition. In the course of the year he traded 3,000 beaver at a total loss of £1,600.[26] Further south, word was received that the *Owhyhee* and *Convoy* had retired and Forts Langley and Vancouver were able to restore their tariff. The price of a blanket was raised to two made beaver and guns to the old cost of 20 skins.[27] The annual returns of Fort Langley rose from 1,400 and 2,500 beaver, prompting one Columbia officer to comment, "Archy has been doing wonders at Fort Langley . . . and is not a little vain of his feat."[28]

The pause in competition left McDonald free to devote more time to salmon curing. Langley post had managed to put up 220 barrels of salmon in 1830 in casks so bad that practically all the pickle was lost and nine barrels sent for trial in Monterey found no purchasers.[29] Still, McDonald was encouraged to go on salting, if only for home consumption. About 300 barrels were produced in 1831, 100 of which sold at ten dollars a barrel to a Hawaiian Islands wholesaler for resale in Lima.[30] In 1831–32, Duncan Finlayson reported from Oahu that Columbia River salmon were most popular in the island market, but the Fraser River fish would probably command a better price. In August 1832 he forwarded 380 bushels of salt to McDonald to cure 300 barrels of salmon for exportation.[31]

While Fort Langley was thus commencing a promising salmon curing enterprise and earning a sound record in the coastal fur trade, discussions were taking place on new arrangements for the Pacific trade which threatened the abandonment of the post. In 1830 and 1831 a fever epidemic broke out in the lower valley of the Columbia which decimated the Indian population and laid up many of McLoughlin's men. This unhealthy state of Fort Vancouver, combined with the difficulties of the Columbia bar, prompted discussion on the relocation of the Columbia depot at the 1832 meeting of the council at York Factory. Though the ultimate decision was left to McLoughlin, Simpson had a definite scheme in mind. His 1829 travels in the Columbia Department suggested Puget Sound had many eligible locations for the principal depot, with excellent harbours, fine timber and, above all, fertile soil where provisions required for the coastal trade could be raised. An additional advantage to be gained by removing to Puget Sound, Simpson considered, was the saving of the expense of Fort Langley since "a large proportion of the returns of that Establishment are drawn from thence, so that if we were settled at Puget's Sound the post of Fort Langley might be abandoned without affecting the trade."[32]

In accordance with instructions from Simpson, McLoughlin had McDonald examine the country between Puget Sound and Nisqually River in November 1832, "the first object . . . to observe if the Soil is suitable for cultivation, and the raising of cattle; the next, the convenience the situation affords for Shipping."[33] McDonald's report on the land and harbours was so favourable that building operations commenced as soon as March 1833.[34] The same month McDonald left Fort Langley for reposting in the Columbia Department and the Fraser River fort was left in the charge of Yale.[35] McLoughlin reported to Simpson that Yale and 13 men would continue business until a vessel could be spared from the coastal trade to remove the property and people to the new establishment, called Nisqually.[36]

Some months later, McLoughlin began to waver in his belief that Fort Nisqually could actually replace Langley. During July the *Cadboro* was authorized to transport some part of the Langley property, but final abandonment of the fort was postponed for another year. McLoughlin wrote on 2 July,

> *The people now at Fort Langley can carry on the Fishery but enough of Trading Articles must be left at Fort Langley to carry on the Indian trade till next spring, as we cannot yet say whether we ought to abandon or not, and when our harvest is in and the Brigade come from the other side, we will have I hope means to keep it up till next spring and carry on all our operations.*[37]

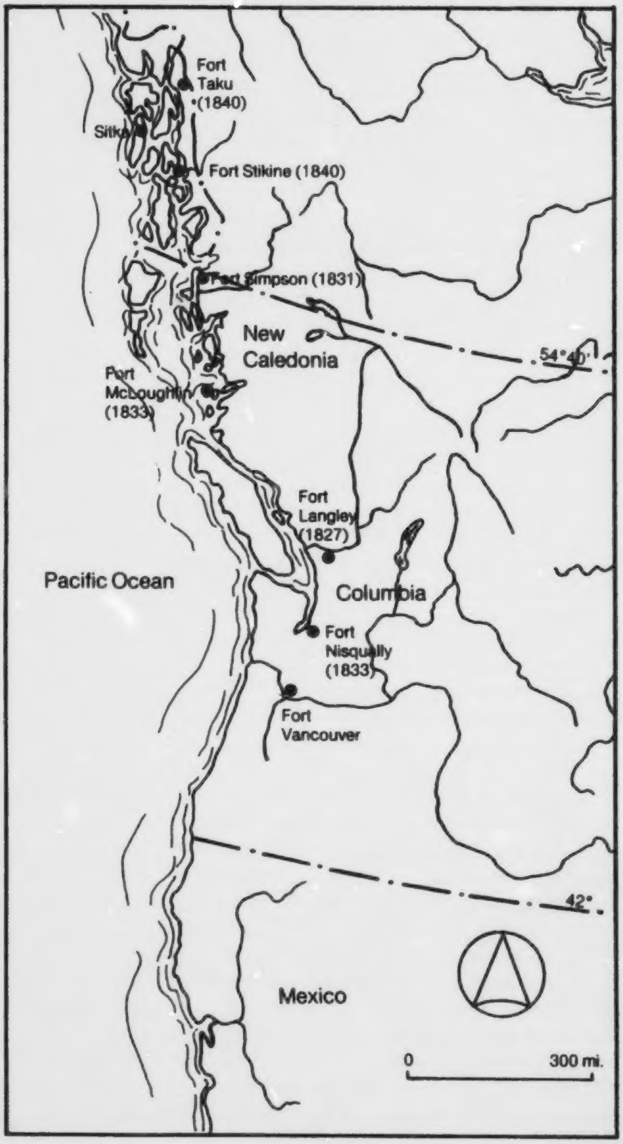
McLoughlin's reluctance to abandon Fort Langley was influenced by his growing conviction of the importance of trading posts to the coastal trade. Although the superintendent of the Columbia Department had initially promoted an expansion of shipping, even once suggesting the use of steamers on the coast,[38] he had early concluded that the trade could be conducted with fewer ships and more posts. In October 1832 he instructed Ogden to select sites for new posts,

> *an important object – as a land Establishment can be maintained at much less expense; & the Company is never in want of a Gentleman to take charge of a Land Establishment, but it is extremely difficult to find Naval Officers to manage the coasting Trade.*[39]

Fort McLoughlin was established at Milbanke Sound in 1833 and another fort was planned for the Stikine River the following year. Four coastal posts, Langley, Nisqually, McLoughlin and Simpson, McLoughlin factually demonstrated, could "be kept up at less expense than one Vessel."[40] Further, "as a proof of the influence acquired by establishing posts," McLoughlin pointed out to the governor and committee in 1834, "we have only to observe that it required the protection of a vessel and forty men to erect Fort Langley and at present a clerk and ten men to do the business of the place."[41]

Both Simpson and the London committee were in agreement with McLoughlin on the importance of posts to the coastal trade, but they also placed an equal value on shipping. Late in 1833 the governor and committee purchased the *Nereide*, a large brig of 240 tons, in the belief that she would prove "well adapted for the Coastal trade."[42] In February 1834 McLoughlin was informed that the committee had accepted Simpson's recommendation to employ a steam vessel for navigating the various channels, inlets and rivers on the coast. Although they anticipated that the steamer might eventually do the work of four sailing vessels, in the meantime at least five ships would ply the coast – the *Nereide, Dryad* or

9 Hudson's Bay Company expansion of Pacific forts, 1827–40. (*Map by S. Epps.*)


Fort Taku (1840)
Sitka
Fort Stikine (1840)
Fort Simpson (1831)
New Caledonia
54°40'
Fort McLoughlin (1833)
Fort Langley (1827)
Pacific Ocean
Columbia
Fort Nisqually (1833)
Fort Vancouver
42°
Mexico
0
300 mi.

Ganymede, Eagle, Lama and *Cadboro*. Efficient use of this heavy complement of vessels required a more accessible depot than Fort Vancouver. On this account the committee observed that Fort Vancouver should be maintained simply as a trading post, farm and depot for the inland establishments of the Columbia and that the principal depot and headquarters for the area west of the Rockies should be resituated at the new establishment on Puget Sound. They contended, like Simpson, that the change of depot would render it unnecessary to maintain Fort Langley.[43] Facilities for agriculture as well as shipping influenced this decision to relocate the depot at Nisqually. The governor and committee were anxious to get into large-scale farming and, encouraged by McDonald's favourable report on Nisqually soil,[44] felt a depot there would provide protection for such an enterprise. When a contrary assessment of the land was subsequently received from Chief Trader Francis Heron, Simpson recommended that both Nisqually and Langley be abandoned in favour of a new site combining the advantages of agriculture and shipping. In July 1834 he piloted a resolution through council at York Factory

That a post be established at or in the neighbourhood of Whitby's Island to be called Fort Langley, which is intended to answer the purposes of the Posts now occupied in Frazers River and Puget's Sound, which, on the establishment of that post are to be abandoned.[45]

This resolution was followed up by aletter from the governor and committee to McLoughlin instructing him to appoint "some Person capable of judging soils" to examine Whidbey Island and the head of Puget Sound.[46]

Being manoeuvred into a position requiring the abandonment of Fort Langley, McLoughlin reasserted his own view of coastal strategy, which minimized shipping and highlighted posts. Shortly after the *Nereide* arrived in the Pacific in April 1834, he returned the ship as unsuitable for use on the coast.[47] He also objected to the abandonment of Forts Langley and Nisqually on the ground that a depot at Whidbey Island would lack the proven advantages of fishery and trade demonstrated by these posts. Writing to Simpson on 3 March 1835 he pleaded,

there is no place on the coast where Salmon is so abundant or got so cheap as at Fort Langley; and if we find a sale for Salmon, it would alone more than pay the expense of keeping up that place: Nisqually is the best situation for Trade in Puget sound, and though Whitby's Island is said to be as fine a situation for a Farm as could be desired, yet it is not conveniently situated for Trade.

Thus he concluded, "I beg to suggest that these two places be allowed to remain separate until we see how our opponents will act and how the Salmon sells."[48]

This argument did not impress the governor and committee, who immediately censured McLoughlin following the return of the *Nereide* to England. They wrote McLoughlin in August 1835,

Your individual opinion with respect to an energetic opposition to the Americans trading on the Coast, and the means of carrying it into effect is not in accordance with that of Governor Simpson and the Northern Council as assented to by us.[49]

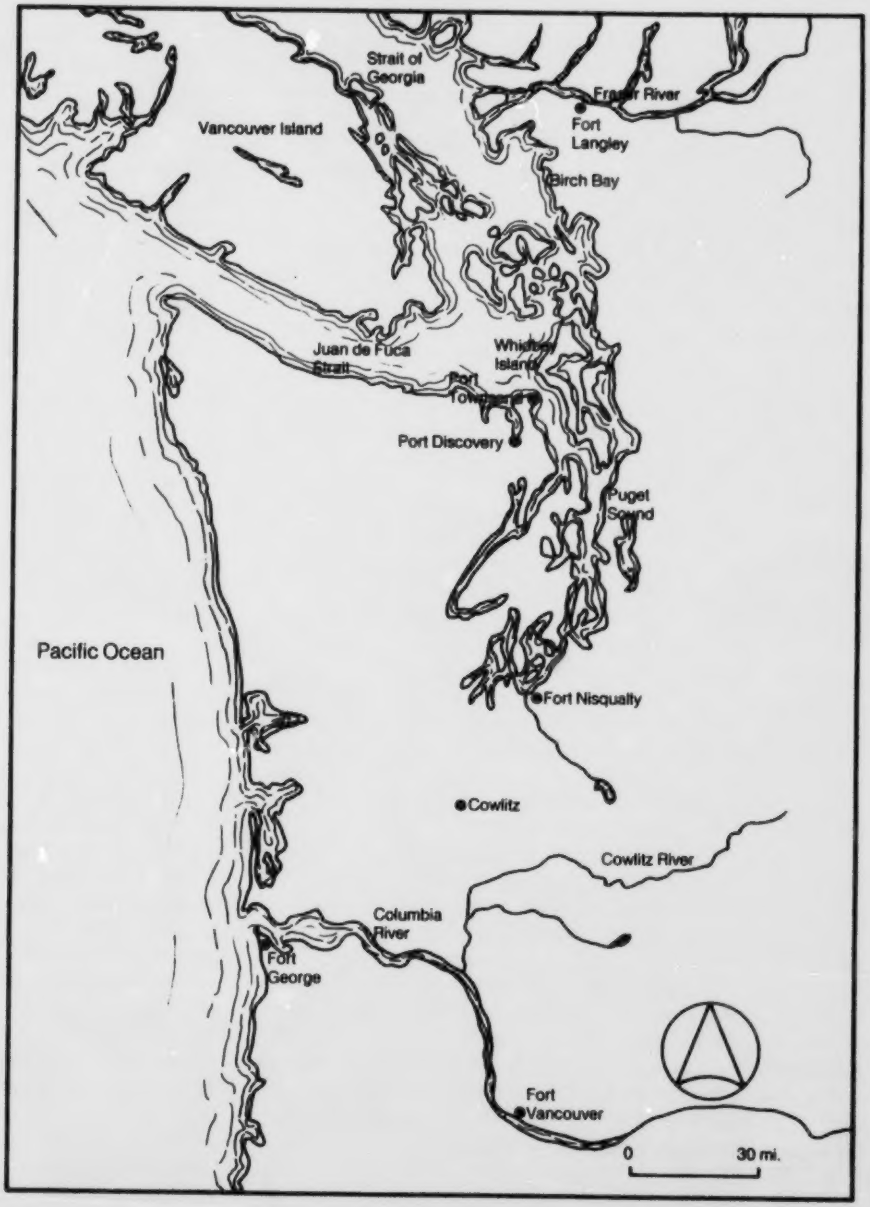
Four months later they followed up this rebuke by a sharp reminder of the depot question.

We have again to draw your attention to the object of removing your Principal Depot from the Columbia River to the Coast, say to Whitby's Island, Puget's Sound, or some other eligible situation, easy of access, as we consider the danger of crossing the Columbia Bar too great a risk to be run by the Annual Ships from and to England, with the Outfits and returns.[50]

The receipt of this last letter in March 1836 by the two new coastal ships, the barque *Columbia* and the steamer *Beaver*, was such a dramatic reassertion of London policy that the abandonment of Fort Langley seemed imminent. McLoughlin, however, stood firm. While he instructed Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson to examine Port Townsend, Port Discovery and Whidbey Island, he was determined that the depot question should not affect the existence of Forts Langley and Nisqually. His reply of 15 November suggested the existing system was "the most economical and efficient" for two main reasons. In the first place, the dangers of the Columbia bar were exaggerated and, since Fort Vancouver was to be retained as the interior depot, ships would still have to cross the bar with the supplies and returns of the inland posts. Secondly, a Whidbey Island depot would be incurring unnecessary expense because the greater part of the Indians who traded at Nisqually and Fort Langley could not go there, while the expense of keeping up the establishment at Fort Langley was in general paid by the salmon trade which could not be carried on elsewhere.[51]

Finlayson's report on Whidbey Island confirmed McLoughlin's view of its disadvantages and ultimately convinced London that the existing arrangement would have to be maintained until a more suitable depot location could be found.[52] The search for a new site was extended to the southern end of Vancouver Island in the summer of 1837,[53] but the idea of relinquishing Fort Langley was no longer considered. The ongoing need for provisioning the large coastal establishment of seven vessels and four posts[54] accented the importance of the Fort Langley fishery and farm. In-

10 The region explored for a new Columbia Department depot, 1833–38. (*Map by S. Epps.*)


Strait of Georgia
Fraser River
Fort Langley
Vancouver Island
Birch Bay
Juan de Fuca Strait
Whidbey Island
Port Townsend
Port Discovery
Puget Sound
Pacific Ocean
Fort Nisqually
Cowlitz
Cowlitz River
Columbia River
Fort George
Fort Vancouver
0
30 mi.

creasingly, activities at the Fraser River post were orientated to Finlayson's suggestion "that everything the coast requires in the shape of provisions not only for the land but for the naval establishments be supplied and transported by the steamer from Fort Langley and Nusqually [*sic*]."[55]

Yale, who had assumed responsibility for Langley on the eve of its abandonment four years earlier, would be officer in charge directing Fort Langley's new role in the fur trade. At the age of 39, Yale had already served 22 years with the Hudson's Bay Company, 16 years west of the Rocky Mountains. He had helped in the exploration of the Fraser River between 1826 and 1828, and as a servant at Fort Langley since 1828 had examined the country around the lower Fraser and Harrison rivers. Although he was deficient in education, he was known to have "a good deal of address & Management with Indians." Simpson described Yale as "a sharp active well conducted very little man but full of fire with the courage of a Lion."[56] A strong sense of duty and persistence through difficulties would characterize his administration of Fort Langley during the next 22 years.

Salmon curing, cultivation and stock raising had steadily expanded under Yale's management of Fort Langley since 1833. About 200 barrels of salmon were cured yearly. The large prairie, seven miles from the fort, was sown for the first time in 1834[57] and in 1835 visiting trader John Work reported 45 acres enclosed there, sown with 80 bushels of potatoes, 10 bushels of wheat, 45 bushels of peas, 8 bushels of barley and the same quantity of oats and Indian corn. At the same fort, 30 acres were cultivated with similar crops. Stock consisted of 60 pigs and 20 head of cattle.[58] The first tierces of Langley pork were received at Fort Vancouver in May 1834.[59] This product, along with spare wheat, peas and salt salmon, helped provision the ships and supplement the supplies of Forts Nisqually and Vancouver.[60]

From 1834 Yale and McLoughlin discussed the idea of relocating Fort Langley on a site maximizing the benefits of fishery, farm and shipping. Lulu Island at the mouth of the Fraser and the vicinity of Birch Bay were both considered but found unsuitable for farming.[61] Finlayson examined and proposed a site on the Salmon River in 1836[62] and McLoughlin accordingly instructed Yale on 16 November 1837 "to move Fort Langley to the place on the Little River as soon as your business will admit."[63] Yale protested that this situation would have an injurious influence on the salmon and fur trades. Since the 1837 fishery yielded 350 barrels of salmon besides the quantity required for fort use, relocation was subsequently postponed until further orders.[64]

Fort Langley fur returns steadily declined after 1833. In one sense this reduction resulted from the success which the Hudson's Bay Company achieved in the coastal contest. By 1838 the Company had practically stopped the Americans and extended its trade to "almost every accessible portion of the Coast as far as the Russian line of demarcation." As one officer noted, "Owing to this connected occupation, by our Various establishments, and shipping, we are straitened for room, and we cannot greatly extend the business of one Post without producing, at some other, a corresponding depression."[65] Yale blamed the low returns of outfit 1837 on the interference of the steamer *Beaver*. The *Beaver* traded guns and ammunition to the Coquilts of the Queen Charlotte Islands who, in turn, peddled these articles to the Indians of Fort Langley, underselling the tariff of the post. To prevent further decline in returns, trading parties were sent out from Fort Langley and the sale of ammunition and firearms was suspended in the vicinity.[66] The Company insisted that "Furs constitute the grand desideration,"[67] but it was clear that the survival of Fort Langley had been predicated on its supply function and that the coastal trade must become increasingly diversified in character.

By 1838 the Company policy of underselling had successfully broken the hold which the American trading ships had secured over the coastal Indians, but it had not placed the Company in its desired monopoly position. As anticipated, the eradication of competition required entry into the supply trade which made it profitable for the American vessels to visit the coast. The importance of foreign commerce as a supplementary source of profit was recognized by the Company's establishment of a branch agency in the Hawaiian Islands in 1833.[68] Yet exports to the Russian settlements principally sustained the Americans. From 1828 the Hudson's Bay Company plied the Russians with offers to supply British manufactured goods and Columbia provisions such as grain, beef and pork. The Russian American Company saw the English company as the chief threat to its trade and for nearly a decade resisted these overtures. At length in 1838 mutual interest in excluding the Americans and the problem of uncertain supplies prompted the Russians to consider an agreement.[69] With the prospects of a commercial treaty "more than probable," McLoughlin was summoned to London to assist in planning the future direction of the Columbia Department.[70]

When McLoughlin left Fort Vancouver in March 1838, plans were being made at Langley to increase its fishery and "to pay every attention to the breeding and rearing of swine" for the production of salt pork.[71] The question of new facilities for these activities was reopened by James Douglas, the officer appointed to superintend the Columbia Department in McLoughlin's absence.

11 James Murray Yale, officer in charge of Fort Langley, 1833–59. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)

12 Fort Langley, 1839, and Langley Farm. (*Map by S. Epps.*)

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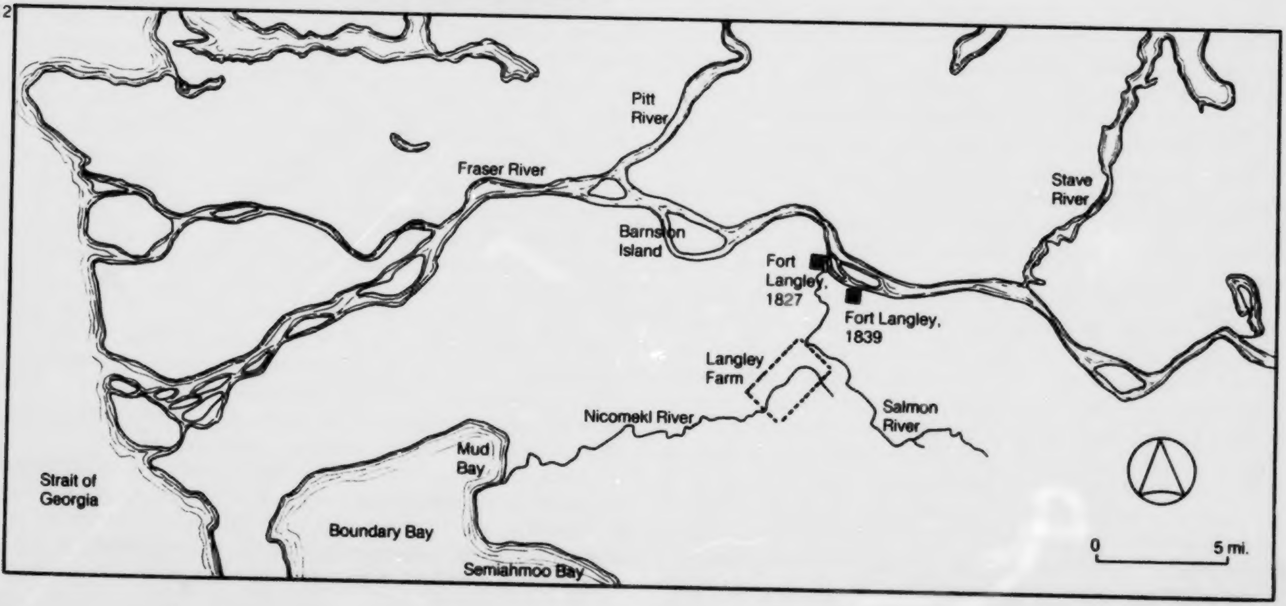

Pitt River
Fraser River
Stave River
Barnston Island
Fort Langley, 1827
Fort Langley, 1839
Langley Farm
Nicomekl River
Salmon River
Mud Bay
Strait of Georgia
Boundary Bay
Semiahmoo Bay
0
5 mi.

Proceeding on the premise that "in a few years Fort Langley will supply all the salt provisions required for the coast," Douglas wrote to Yale on 21 November 1838 that the new fort site must be "alike convenient for the fur and Salmon trade, combined with facilities for the farm and shipping." Ultimately the fishery was the principal criterion used for relocation. A prognosis of Langley's future development was presented in Douglas's conclusion that "the Salmon trade must not be sacrificed as it will always yield a more valuable return at less trouble and expense than the farm."[72]

In the spring of 1839 a new Fort Langley was constructed on the south side of the Fraser two and one-half miles upstream from the original post. Removal from the old fort was completed by 25 June[73] and the change was reported in a letter from Douglas to the governor and committee on 14 October 1839 which stated,

> *We have abandoned the old Langley establishment which was in a delapidated state, as well as inconvenient in some respects for the business, and removed all effects, into a new fort built a few miles higher up on the banks of Fraser's River, the stockades of which, four block houses, and nearly all the necessary buildings are now erected. It is fully as convenient for the fur and Salmon trade, as the former site and, moreover, possesses the important and desireable advantage of being much nearer the farm.*[74]

New Fort Langley, justified by its fishery and farm, marked a turning point in the Hudson's Bay Company's Pacific venture, ending the competitive phase in which the Company created posts strictly for their value in fur returns. In the new era of monopoly, crop raising and fish processing were not only seen as support functions of the fur trade, but also as valid commercial enterprises in their own right. Posts accessible to shipping were especially valued and soon Fort Langley wheat, butter, salmon and other products became important elements of a highly diversified Company commerce extending throughout the Pacific coast.

Development of Farm and Fishery

The contract concluded between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company in 1839 destroyed the American market for supplies and gave the Hudson's Bay Company the monopoly of the coastal trade it had sought for almost two decades. By the provisions of the agreement, the Russians leased to the British fur traders for ten years, from 1 June 1840, the coastal strip on the mainland north to Cape Spencer for an annual rent of 2,000 seasoned land otter. The Hudson's Bay Company agreed to transport from England British manufactured goods desired by the Russian colonies, to sell the Russians additional land otter and to provide supplies of foodstuffs including wheat, peas, barley, butter, beef and ham. To ensure the production of the required supplies as well as to enforce British claims to Oregon by extending agriculture, the Hudson's Bay Company formed the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company as a satellite enterprise. Throughout the term of the contract, however, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company farms at Fort Nisqually and the Cowlitz portage relied on assistance in agricultural production for Russia from its parent Company's farms at Forts Vancouver and Langley.[1]

This role of Fort Langley farm was partiallyforecast in Simpson's letter to Yale dated 20 June 1839.

> *The success that has attended our exertions on the Coast north of the Columbia, both ashore and afloat, says much for all that have been engaged therein, and no sooner were we enabled to direct our attention to the operations of the Russians by driving the Americans from the Field, than we have carried our point with the former, likewise by a commercial treaty . . . By that treaty we are bound to deliver a considerable quantity of Country produce annually: the only part of it we are likely to have difficulty in fulfilling in reference to the article of Butter, but you must lay your willing hand to the Churn, and see if you cannot render yourself as conspicuous in that way as in the production of Pork, the curing of Salmon, and the other . . . duties in which you have been from time to time engaged.*[2]

As soon as he returned to the Pacific late in 1839, McLoughlin took steps to promote dairying and other farming activities at Fort Langley. During a personal visit to the new fort the first week in December the doctor issued detailed instructions for stock raising and cultivation the following year. He brought with him on board the *Beaver* 29 milk cows to augment the Fort Langley herd and an English family to take charge of one of two dairies to be established immediately.[3] Two ploughs were to be kept constantly at work breaking new land, oats were to be sown in February, spring wheat at the end of April, peas in mid-May and barley by the first of June. About 20 acres were to be put down in timothy and fenced against cattle, as many potatoes sown as possible and ground prepared for clover. Finally, additional farm buildings would have to be erected, specifically a stable 50 by 30 feet, sheds in the fields for grain and a shed for ploughs and carts.[4]

Already taxed with provisioning coastal vessels and forts, Yale was slightly vexed with this work order and confided his annoyance to Simpson, writing,

Chief Factor McLoughlin favored us with a visit last month on board the steamer, and brought 29 Wild California Cows with which he seemed to think we would be able to make 40 Cwt Butter. I wish we may but doubt it very much and had a mind to ask what quantity was salted at Fort Vancouver in 1827/28 when he made us eat our cakes without butter. I do not believe it exceeded 10 cwt. I shall not presume to express my humble opinion in regard to the Treaty with the Russians but judging of their consequence only from the quantity of Butter they require one would certainly believe them to be very formidable.

In regard to cultivation, Yale pointed out the variable Fort Langley climate and suggested that on this account McLoughlin had formed "too favorable an opinion with respect to the facility of Farming at Fraser's River."[5]

As it turned out, the greatest threat to agricultural production at Fort Langley in 1840 was not the weather, but the total destruction of the fort by fire on the night of 11 April. The fire broke out in the blacksmith's shop and, assisted by the wind, spread to the whole range of buildings on that side shortly after it was observed. As the flames advanced to the remaining sides an effort was made to save the Big House but in vain. In minutes Fort Langley – houses, utensils, furniture, seasoned barrel staves – lay a waste, "reduced to a heap of smoking ruins." The calamity was caused by the carelessness of a new hand called Brulé who, until he finished a house for himself (the last house required to complete the fort), was permitted to cook his meals in the blacksmith's shop and sleep in one of the bastions. He had forgotten to quench the fire before retiring to his sleeping place. By this disaster the Company lost furs to the amount of £958 and provisions and goods to the amount of £404, besides all the unvalued property and the loss caused by the disruption of business.[6]

The fire illustrated in a particularly vital fashion the importance which Langley Farm was now assuming to the effective operation of the Hudson's Bay Company's Pacific enterprise. In accordance with article 1 of the agreement with Russia, the Company intended during the summer of 1840 to take over the Russian American Company fort at the entrance of the Stikine River and to establish a trading post on the Taku River.[7] Langley was to supply these posts with salmon, pork, beef and butter. Thus when Douglas, on his way north to Stikine at the end of April, learned of the Langley fire, he expressed grave apprehension whether the Company plans could fully be carried out. He noted,

In a series of dependent and connected operations, when an important link is broken, harassing delays, difficulties and absolute disappointment are generally speaking the too certain results . . . we were for instance depending on Fort Langley for salt provisions, which cannot now be furnished . . . therefore, unless some fortunate accident throws provisions in our way we must be compelled to defer the occupation of Taako [sic] *to another year.*

Douglas also concluded that "the vessels on the coast will be extreme sufferers, as without a complete revolution in our plans no efficient aid can be afforded until June 1841, and there is no chance of their provisions holding out until then."[8]

Fortunately, by 1 May, when Douglas arrived at Fort Langley, Yale had managed to neutralize the worst effects of the Langley disaster. A small stockade measuring 108 by 70 feet had already been erected for the security of the Langley personnel and during the course of Douglas's stay a bastion was finished and the wall pieces, sills and beams squared for a new building 48 by 24 feet.[9] Yale made just two requests of Douglas – that he would supply him with six good axes and be off out of his way as quickly as possible.[10] Fort Langley's officer in charge was determined to conduct business as if nothing had happened. In July he was able to report to McLoughlin that despite the fire, nearly everything that could be done in the way of farming was accomplished. Besides the barley, peas and oats sown before the fire, over 304 bushels of wheat and 500 bushels of potatoes had been planted.[11] The fort supplied enough provisions to enable Douglas to establish Taku and, from the case of the Company steamer, the vessels on the coast seem hardly to have suffered. For outfit 1840 Langley provided the *Beaver* with 30 barrels salt pork (each 200 pounds), 1,451 pounds of fresh pork, 225 bushels of potatoes, two kegs of salt butter (125 pounds each) and a host of other sundries such as salmon, venison, ducks, peas and barley.[12]

Yale's determination to keep up the Fort Langley services may have been motivated by his belief in a management conspiracy to lower the importance of his post. This conviction, first manifested in his condemnation of the *Beaver* for interference in the Langley fur trade, now received another expression in his attitude toward livestock. In the year since McLoughlin's visit in December 1839, the Langley herd had increased to "4 bulls, 17 cows, 19 cows calved, 10 oxen, 3 steers (2 years), 7 steers (one year), one heifer (one year) and 30 calves 1840 (only 10 weaned)."[13] After the fire, McLoughlin concluded Fort Langley could not support "more cattle than those required for the two dairies and the work of the place" and he therefore ordered Douglas to remove as many of the young cattle as the steamer would take.[14] Yale vigorously protested, maintaining he had feed enough for three times that number, but Douglas recorded, "his wishes were not to be consulted."[15] Eleven cattle, the only young that could safely be dispensed with, were removed in September and several heifers in December.[16]

Langley dairies established in 1840 showed a steady increase in production, providing from one-fifth to one-half the volume of butter required by the Russian contract. The Hudson's Bay Company originally contracted to provide 160 hundredweight annually, but the poor quality of milk cows on the Pacific Coast and the difficulty anticipated in immediately supplying this amount had led to a modified agreement for 30 hundredweight until the quantity could be conveniently increased.[17] Langley made 1,120 pounds of the 5,448 pounds of salt butter sent to the Russian American Company in 1843 and 8-1/2 hundredweight out of 41 hundredweight in 1844.[18] In 1847 its export of 31 kegs of salt butter (each 56 pounds or circa 1/2 hundredweight) amounted to half the total export to the Russians.[19]

Not all the cattle on Fort Langley farm were dairy cattle. Although the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company's farms at Fort Nisqually and Cowlitz were developed as the principal source of beef for Russia, Fort Langley raised beef on a limited scale for the supply of the fort and the shipping.[20] For several years Fort Langley also kept between 16 and 22 oxen for the work of the farm; after 1845 this number increased nearly five times. Clearly, dairying, beef farming and the "work of the place" required more than the 53 cattle of 1840. In their 1845 report on the Pacific, Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour recorded a total of 195 neat cattle at Fort Langley.[21] The total inventory in 1848 was 366.

The most consistently large stock at Fort Langley throughout the decade was pigs. Inventories for the years 1840 to 1848 indicate 200 to 250 as the usual number. The hogs, fresh or salted and packed in barrels containing about 200 pounds each, provisioned the coastal vessels. A typical annual supply was that for outfit 1841 which provided the steamer *Beaver* with 15 barrels of salt pork and 350 pounds of fresh pork and the schooner *Cadboro* with 4 tierces of pork and 200 pounds of fresh pork.[22] While Langley pork was an essential item of sustenance for Company crews, McLoughlin considered it unfit for sale to settlers near the Columbia River.[23]

Extending cultivation was an important corollary of large-scale dairy farming, beef and hog raising and was also intended to produce a portion of the wheat for the Russian contract. McLoughlin's instructions of December 1839 posited as a goal of expansion, "every year as much additional ground . . . be laid down for meadow, so as ultimately to cover the whole plain with foreign grasses."[24] Besides the usual grains (such as timothy, wheat and barley), seed for mangel, mustard, red clover and "cow grass" were forwarded from Fort Vancouver. The other major crops were peas and potatoes.[25] Most of the ground sown was located on the plain or prairie one mile behind and south of the fort although there were 60 acres of "rich alluvial soil" at the fort[26] and it is probable that about 30 to 40 acres were planted there. According to Yale, by 1844 Fort Langley had "more cultivated ground than we are able to till in the course of a season."[27] Warre and Vavasour's report of the following year recorded a total of 240 acres under cultivation.[28]

This venture in planting proved to be only moderately successful. Yale considered the returns of the first year's effort "very poor"[29] and a summary of the Fort Langley crop, recorded by Douglas on 22 September 1840, seemed to confirm this opinion:[30]

	Seed	Computed Crop
Fall Wheat	100 bu.	500 poor
Spring Wheat	25 bu.	250 good
Barley	70 bu.	250 poor
Peas	75 bu.	600 poor
Oats	40 bu.	500 abundant

The degree of improvement after 1840 varied by crop. Winter wheat was almost a total failure every year.[31] The 1844 harvest of 500 bushels of barley, 760 bushels of peas and 800 bushels of oats[32] indicated yields in these products just slightly higher than 1840. Potatoes and spring wheat alone were rated as "tolerable." Upwards of 4,000 bushels of potatoes were produced in 1844 and from 1843 to 1847 a consistent yield of over 1,000 bushels of spring wheat was secured annually.[33]

Unlike dairying and hog raising, cultivation at Fort Langley remained marginal to Company agricultural expansion on the Pacific Coast. True enough, in at least three years Fort Langley spring wheat was exported to Russian America – 1,575 bushels or 829-29/126 *fanegas* (66-1/2 pounds each) in 1844, 1,000 bushels in 1845 and nearly 800 bushels in 1846.[34] Yet McLoughlin estimated in 1843 that the Columbia Department required 15,300 bushels of wheat to meet its own needs and satisfy export requirements. Of this Fort Vancouver produced 3,000 bushels and Cowlitz 5,000.[35] Surplus peas, barley and potatoes from Langley were shipped for provisions and seed to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company farms at Nisqually and Cowlitz and to the Hudson's Bay Company farm at Fort Victoria, established on Vancouver Island in 1843.[36] Successful cultivation at these places in turn accented the disadvantages of crop raising at Langley. Eventually, a harassing climate and a desire to promote the fishery prompted Company abandonment of all cultivation unnecessary for stock raising or staff rations.

Rain in the spring and fall was the principal climatic factor inhibiting cultivation. During the growing season sunshine and moderate precipitation acted in concert with the rich and fertile soil of Fort Langley prairie to create fields of "grand appearance." Unfortunately, rains inundating the low-lying fields made spring planting exceedingly uncertain and at harvest time repeatedly left grain rotting on the ground before it had been cut or taken in. Yale thought that better farmers and more equipment would provide a partial cure for the problem. He wrote to Simpson in 1842,

> *the fit Season here for ploughing, sowing and harvest is very short and to surmount these disadvantages as much as possible, we would require an extra number of Horses, and a few expert Hands, men possessing more knowledge of farming, at least sense enough to acquire it in a short time . . . in exchange for a few more here.*[37]

In 1844 Yale (recently promoted to chief trader) noted Fort Langley still continued "to be ill provided with means to obviate these local obstacles . . . which with a few extra Horses might have been in some degree counteracted."[38]

By 1845 the hope Langley's officer in charge entertained of improving cultivation by various means had given way to simple condemnation of the Fort Langley climate, a view echoed by his supervisors. During the summer of 1845 nearly two-thirds of all the Company produce at the farm was either damaged or totally lost by incessant rain throughout the month of August.[39] When the crops suffered the following year from the same reason, Chief Factors Ogden and Douglas concluded, "The climate of Fort Langley is not well adapted for Agricultural purposes, the wet season setting in early, and there being always more or less difficulty in securing the Crops, in consequence of variable weather in harvest."[40]

The Company decision to enlarge the salmon curing business effectively ended Fort Langley's first foray into large-scale agriculture. Since harvest time and the salmon run coincided in August and the early part of September, a choice had to be made for the allocation of manpower resources. Douglas and Ogden concluded that the Langley establishment of 18 men had "so many other duties to attend to, that beyond raising their own food, the farm is not considered an object of much importance."[41] This decision was recapitulated in Yale's letter to Simpson on 25 November 1847.

> *The business of Farming at Frasers River being exceedingly precarious and disadvantageous, has been by the advice of Mr. Chief Factor Douglas, in a great degree superseded, with a view to the further prosecution of the Salmon trade, which commences with the harvest, and it is quite impossible to attend fully to both at the same time.*[42]

Agricultural difficulties were also experienced at Fort Vancouver and Cowlitz and, two years later, a renewal of the contract with Russia suspended the provision which had given a special impetus to agricultural expansion at Langley.[43]

Throughout the 1830s the production of cured salmon at Fort Langley was limited to the provisioning of Company posts and ships and secondarily oriented to market. When the new fort was rebuilt in 1840, furs still outvalued salmon as an article of trade, the annual returns on furs amounted to about £2,500 and in salted salmon for market, 400 barrels, to about £800.[44] In the early 1840s, however, the Company directed its efforts toward marketing a larger volume of Columbia district produce in the Hawaiian Islands and the particular success of Langley salmon focused attention on the development of an export market industry from the Fraser. By 1848, salmon had surpassed furs on the positive side of the Fort Langley ledger and the post launched into a career as the single largest exporter of salmon on the Pacific Coast.

The mastery of the coastal trade which the Hudson's Bay Company achieved by the Russian contract of 1839 not only provided security for the inland fur trade, but also greater freedom to develop a wide carrying trade throughout the Pacific. The contract itself guaranteed a market for several agricultural products and it seemed logical that the shipping employed for their transport might be profitably used to carry a variety of Columbia produce for sale elsewhere. The nearest port of call and traditional market for timber, salmon and other Columbia produce was the Hawaiian Islands. After investigating the prospects of trade in this quarter during a visit in 1841–42, Simpson recommended that the Company agency at Oahu should conduct an enlarged business.[45] He viewed the potential of this market in glowing terms.

> *The business of this place is increasing from year to year, principally dependent on the whalers & other vessels that rendezvous here, which may be estimated at about 120 sail per annum. These shipping require supplies of various kinds which affords a market to a considerable extent; & as many of the natives are employed in Whaling, Pearl Fishing, in California & the Columbia, bringing the produce of their labors home, which finds circulation through-*

out the Islands, they afford a further market. This port is moreover becoming an entrepôt for a portion of the South American, California, Manilla and China markets.[46]

Simpson was anxious to promote trade in a variety of articles such as lumber, flour, wool and leather, but it was salmon which he singled out for particular emphasis. Before his departure for the islands, he was informed by Douglas that the 1841 salmon fishery at Fort Langley was beyond all precedent, producing 540 barrels.[47] At Oahu he learned that salmon sold well at $10 to $12 per barrel of 180 pounds.[48] This information and the knowledge that salmon had long been a staple of Indians and fur traders on the Pacific Slope shaped Simpson's conclusion that "the Salmon Fisheries of this Coast are highly deserving of attention as a growing and almost inexhaustible source of trade."[49]

In 1842 and 1843 Company sale of Fraser and Columbia River salmon in the Hawaiian Islands was adversely affected by other importations. Two American vessels visited the Columbia River in 1842 and collected salmon from their fellow nationals settled in the area. Their consignment of 760 barrels glutted the Oahu market, bringing down the price of the Hudson's Bay Company's product.[50] As more settlers poured into the area in 1843 and the prospect of opposition increased, the Hudson's Bay Company attempted to find supplementary markets for its salmon. The result was discouraging. Experimental shipments to the Boston and Canton markets in 1843 averaged only four dollars and three dollars a barrel, presenting little inducement for future consignments.[51]

Fortunately, the Hawaiian Islands market took a favourable turn in 1844. On 30 March Pelly and Allan, the Company's agents at Oahu, informed McLoughlin that there was a growing demand for Fraser River salmon among the natives.[52] Fort Langley was called upon to feed this market. In August 1844 Yale and his staff salted 890 barrels of salmon, 600 in four days.[53] The *Cadboro* shipped 325 barrels to Fort Victoria in September and these were taken by the barque *Columbia* to Oahu in November.[54] Another 357 barrels were shipped in June 1845. The average return of the 1844 fishery was a satisfactory nine dollars a barrel.[55]

When Douglas visited Fort Langley in December 1845, a second production of nearly 800 barrels of salmon was ready for shipment. The steamer *Beaver* with the *Cadboro* in tow was unable to ship all the salmon and arrangements were made to send back both vessels to take away the remainder.[56] The first consignment of 490 barrels shipped to Honolulu sold almost immediately after landing.[57] It was clear that from long use Fort Langley salmon was becoming a positive necessity of life to the natives of the islands who purchased it faster than the Company could supply the market. Instructions were issued for the Fraser River post to cure 2,000 barrels of salmon in 1846.[58] Yale was impressed. Here was a potential source of additional revenue to bolster the sagging profits of the Langley fur trade. To Simpson he wrote, "This activity of doing business quite a novelty here, and the agreeable news of the Islanders having taken a great relish for our most available article of trade, will I trust stimulate our exertions a little."[59]

A good run of salmon and extra attention paid to curing made the Fort Langley fishery of 1846 "uncommonly productive." The seasonal yield was increased to a total of 1,530 barrels which was exported in its entirety in December.[60] From the islands on 26 December, Pelly and Allan reported that this cargo of salmon was "the largest importation that has yet made its appearance here at one time of that article."[61] Notwithstanding the quantity, 270 barrels sold in the course of one month at ten dollars a barrel. Three months later prices were remaining firm at ten dollars.[62]

It was this sustained success of the Fort Langley fishery which strongly influenced the 1847 policy decision to abandon farming at the post and to develop the curing business to its fullest potential. "We are now devoting our utmost attention to the valuable fisheries in Fraser's River," noted Company officials in March. "We intend to increase our exports from year to year until prices show a disposition to fall, and . . . we have thus ascertained the actual wants of the market."[63] As the 1847 season approached, Yale was urged to greater performance. Simpson diplomatically requested Yale "to improve, if possible, upon the last year's very handsome returns."[64] Douglas's letter of 26 June was more insistent.

The Langley Salmon are all sold and have cleared about Ten Dollars a barrel. Our Agents are now calling for another supply, and think they could have sold double the quantity. With such encouragement, you may go on salting Salmon to the greatest possible extent. Remember, Yale, it must be two thousand barrels this year! I will not take a barrel less from you.[65]

The 1847 season forcefully reminded Company officials of other requisites to a successful fishery besides exertion. A scarce salmon run in the river near the fort yielded just 365 barrels. It was only by sending a curing party with a stock of barrels and salt to an Indian fishing station 35 miles up-river that 1,020 additional barrels were cured, making a respectable total of 1,385.[66] These sold well in the islands for ten dollars a barrel until an importation of salmon from Sitka slowed sales, forcing a reduction to nine dollars for the remaining stock. With about 600 barrels of Fort Langley salmon still unsold in May 1848, Yale was assigned a maximum quota of 1,600 for the 1848 season.[67]

Within two years of the decision to expand the Fort Langley fishery, the limits of the Hawaiian Islands market were ascertained. In August 1848 Fort Langley produced 1,703 barrels of salmon and these, according to future practice, were withheld from sale until previous stock was worked off.[68] The highest exportation in the history of the fort was made in 1849. That year 2,610 barrels of Fort Langley salmon were shipped to the islands and sold at $12 and $14 a barrel.[69] Over the next decade, on the two occasions when exports again reached 2,000, the quality of the Fort Langley product deteriorated and prices dropped from those received for smaller shipments.[70]

Fort Langley's curing enterprise reached full development against the turbulent background of the Oregon boundary issue. The 1846 boundary settlement necessitated changes in Company organization and renewed the whole question of inland transportation. If, contrary to past experience, the Fraser valley were discovered to be a suitable highway to the northern interior, then the Hudson's Bay Company could be assured of an all-British supply line free from possible American encroachment. From 1846 Fort Langley's development of the salmon-curing industry was paralleled by an intimate involvement in the resolution of the communication problem.

Establishing Inland Communication

After the 1828 extension of British and American joint occupancy of Oregon, the Hudson's Bay Company continued to use the Columbia-Okanagan interior supply route from Fort Vancouver. Coastal shipping and other needs had attracted Simpson and the governor and committee to the idea of relocating Company headquarters during the 1830s. Yet the absence of a more effective inland communication, and McLoughlin's argument that therefore the post would have to be retained as an interior depot anyway, helped to keep Fort Vancouver in its dominant position. In the early 1840s, however, powerful political factors were added to traditional arguments for change with the result that Company headquarters were moved north. The process began in 1843–44 with the building of Fort Victoria and the reorganization of Company management, and was completed in 1849 with the transfer of the board of management to Fort Victoria and the successful establishment of a practical brigade route from Fort Langley into the interior.

As early as 1841 Simpson practically abandoned his former hope that the Columbia River would become the boundary line. Following a personal visit to the Pacific in 1841, he wrote to the governor and committee in March 1842 that the coastal boundary would probably be drawn at Juan de Fuca Strait because "the Government of the United States will insist on having a post on the North West Coast, and that Gt. Britain will, for the sake of peace, accept the straits of de Fuca as a boundary on the Coast." The prospect of this boundary and the presence of a sizeable American population in the Willamette valley raised the question of the safety of storing all Company property at Fort Vancouver. By McLoughlin's own suggestion, the search for a suitable depot site had been directed to the south end of Vancouver Island in 1838. Simpson favoured the location for reasons of efficiency in shipping and he now added political pressures to his decision to transfer some of the functions of Fort Vancouver to a more northerly location.[1]

On 28 June 1842 the council of the Northern Department, assembled at Norway House, resolved that:

it being considered in many points of view expedient to form a depot at the Southern end of Vancouver's Island, . . . an eligible site for such a Depot be selected, and that measures be adopted for forming this Establishment with the least possible delay.[2]

A year later Douglas built Fort Victoria on a scale large enough to serve as general depot for the Pacific trade.[3]

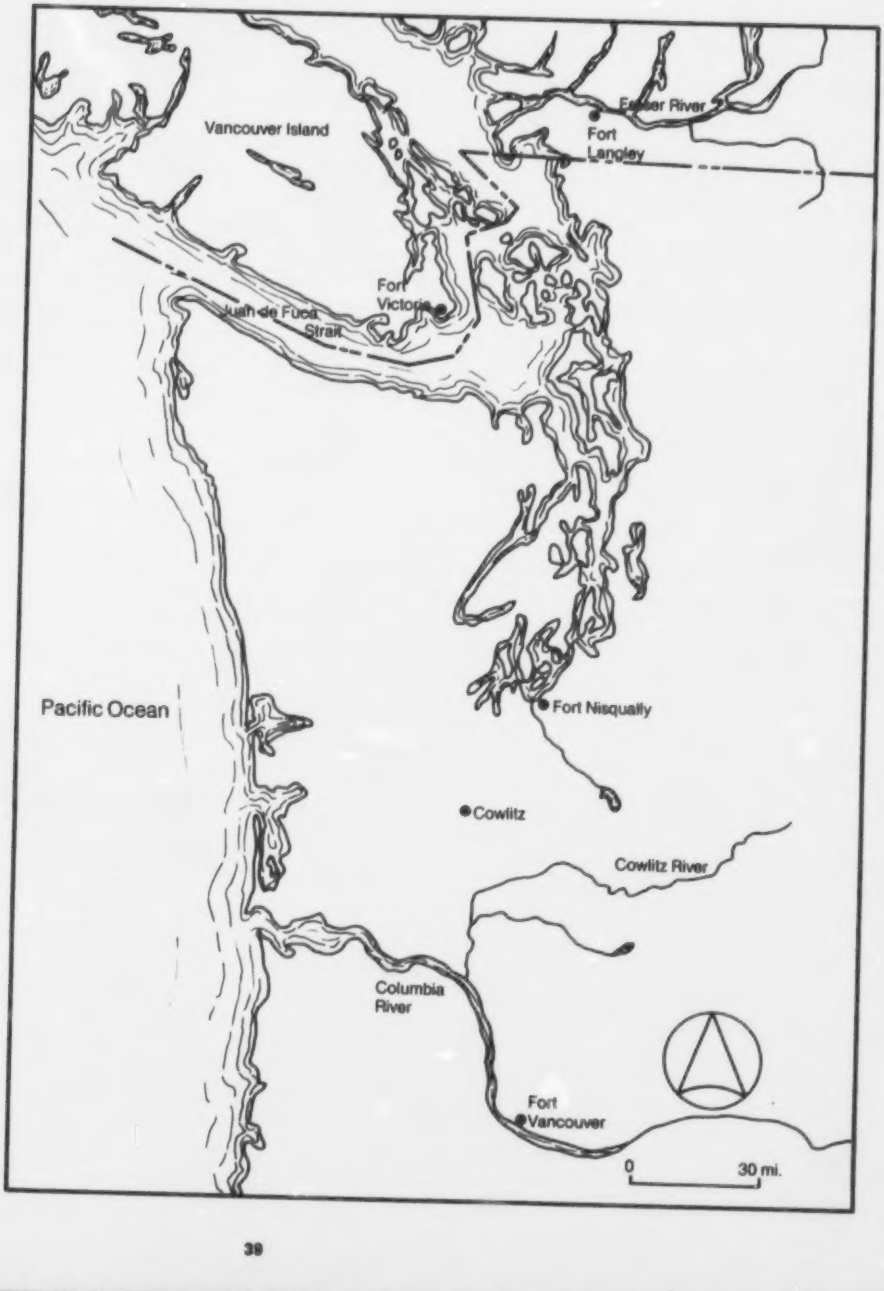
The Company decision to reorganize its management of the Pacific fur trade was the result of a combination of factors. Relations between Simpson and McLoughlin had been strained since their disagreement over the conduct of the coastal trade and during Simpson's 1841 visit to the coast a serious feud developed between the two concerning the murder of McLoughlin's son at Fort Stikine. After this event the governor and committee found that McLoughlin's dispatches were filled with heated discussions of his son's murder and failed to give adequate accounts of his district. They were disturbed by the decline in revenue west of the Rockies and critical of McLoughlin's handling of several specific matters such as the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company and extension of credit to American settlers. Reorganization would facilitate the removal of McLoughlin and anticipate the political division suggested by Simpson. On 30 November 1844 the governor and committee informed McLoughlin that his general superintendency would cease on 31 May 1845 and that the Columbia department would be governed by a board of management of three members and would eventually be divided into two or more districts. During outfit 1845 the board consisted of Douglas, Ogden and McLoughlin, but in 1846 McLoughlin went on furlough and after two more years' leave of absence, formally retired from the service on 1 June 1849.[4] Although the official division of the Columbia Department into the Oregon and Western districts was not made until 1853[5] and Fort Victoria did not become headquarters until 1849, the Company retreat from the Columbia began in 1844.

Scarcely had Fort Victoria been established when events in the Columbia River valley accented its importance. About 875 American immigrants arrived in the Willamette valley in the fall of 1843, reducing the British settlers to a relatively small minority group. Though a moderate provisional government favourable to everyone was initially formed, it was uncertain that the more radical American elements could be held in check. The possibility that the Company's land might be appropriated or its warehouses looted impressed the governor and committee, who in the autumn of 1844 ordered the annual supply ship *Vancouver* to proceed directly to Fort Victoria instead of the Columbia. The same year McLoughlin persuaded the Pacific naval commander to lend support to the British presence by sending HMS *Modeste* to visit the Columbia River. By 1845 "Oregon Fever," manifested in a continuing tide of American immigration and the cry, "Fifty-four forty, or fight!," brought Great Britain and the United States to the brink of war. Lieutenants Henry J. Warre and Mervin Vavasour, RE, were sent on a secret mission in the summer of 1845 to assess British defense of western North America, but before they completed their task, the two countries had reached a resolution.[6]

By the Treaty of Washington signed in June 1846, the 49th parallel became the boundary between British and United States territory west of the Rockies. Article 2 left navigation of the Columbia south of the 49th parallel "free and open to the Hudson's Bay Company and to all British subjects trading with the same" and stipulated that in the exercise of that right they should "be treated on the same footing as citizens of the United States." In practice, however, this guarantee of free and open navigation proved illusory and Company goods landed at Fort Vancouver for the interior were subject to import and transit duties levied by the United States government.[7] The building of Fort Victoria anticipated the disadvantage of having the Company's principal depot in American territory, but the problem of an all-British communication with the interior was still unsolved. Early in 1845 the old idea of Fort Langley as a potential depot for the interior brigades was revived and in the process of intensive exploration and experimentation which resulted in a viable route from the Fraser River to the interior posts, Fort Langley played an active and guiding role.

Almost a year before the conclusion of the treaty, Simpson wrote to Yale that in view of the unsettled state of the Columbia, the council was considering the necessity of finding an alternative route for the conveyance of the outfits and returns to and from New Caledonia. The governor asked Yale to communicate any information he might have on a route from the Fraser and to institute inquiries among the natives on the practicability of such a route.[8] Yale discussed the matter fully with Douglas in December 1845 and also reported to Simpson that there was a practicable route "interiorly from the falls on the south side of the river, by a succession of vallies, small plains, and lakes, and with only one or two intervening mountains of no considerable height." He proposed to interview an Indian chief in that quarter to acquire additional information on the subject.[9]

Alexander C. Anderson, chief trader in charge of Fort Alexandria who at this time was also in communication with Simpson on the subject, volunteered to explore a route to Fort Langley from the interior.[10] The governor accepted Anderson's service and appointed him to explore two routes in the spring of 1846. Starting from Fort Kamloops on the Thompson River in May, Anderson followed a route north of the Fraser by way of a chain of lakes (the Anderson-Seton lake system) from the Lillooet River to the Harrison which he navigated to its confluence with the Fraser, taking the Fraser to Fort Langley. A succession of rapids for nearly 50 miles made the Lillooet exceedingly dangerous and in seasons of high water impossible for boats.[11] On the recommendation of Anderson the board of management concluded that the route "will not answer our purpose and ought never to be attempted."[12]



Vancouver Island
Fraser River
Fort Langley
Fort Victoria
Juan de Fuca Strait
Pacific Ocean
Fort Nisqually
Cowlitz
Cowlitz River
Columbia River
Fort Vancouver
0
30 mi.

13 The British-American boundary, Treaty of Washington, 1846. (*Map by S. Epps.*)

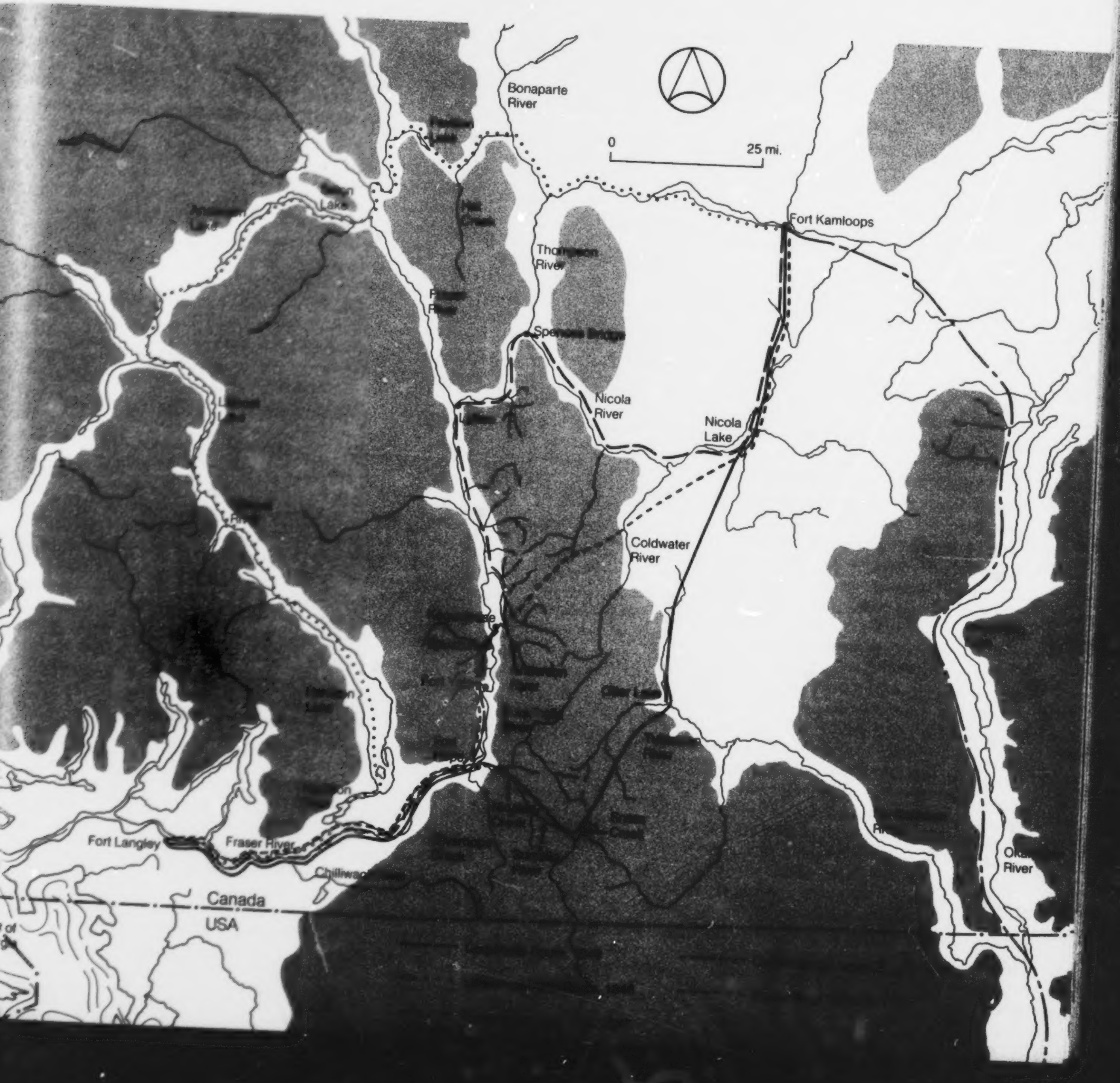
On his return journey to Kamloops from Fort Langley in June 1846, Anderson explored a route by the south side of the Fraser. He ascended the Fraser 66 miles by water and thence commenced the land journey at the entrance of Silverhope Creek. When it became apparent that the river ran in a southerly direction, Anderson retraced his steps and determined to follow the Coquihalla, a tributary of the Fraser three miles higher. From the Coquihalla he marched along the valley of the Nicolum over a small height of land to the Sumallo River, eventually diverging northward along Snass Creek in a gentle ascent to the highest point of the mountain pass. Descending on the opposite or northern declivity of the mountain, his party had to contend with eight to ten feet of snow, which fortunately was compact enough to support them. A two-day march from one of the tributaries of the Similkameen brought them into open country and a camp near Otter Lake where their horses were waiting and carried them in a two-day ride to the Thompson, the original starting point. The return journey of 237 miles took 11 days. Anderson's only objection to the route was the depth and duration of the snow in the mountains which made the route impassable in early summer, but he suggested that if the brigades were delayed until the middle of July, the route should prove a practical communication.[13]

Although the board of management were at first favourably disposed to the Coquihalla road, they reserved judgement when Yale informed them that he had heard of another route which, by following the banks of the Fraser, avoided the mountains and would therefore be passable at all seasons.[14] They requested Anderson to examine this route in May 1847 and to report to Yale on its eligibility.[15] "The main point to be born in mind," they wrote to Yale, "is the accessibility of the route at all seasons as a communication rendered impassable by snow or water for 6 or 7 months in the year, would be of little value to us." The latter was "an almost insuperable objection to the [Coquihalla] road" and induced the board to give preference to a road which avoided the mountains altogether. They were anxious to establish a commercial communication with the interior as soon as possible and while making clear their own preference for the third route, if feasible, they left final determination of the matter with Yale and Anderson. Once the matter had been fully discussed at Fort Langley in the early summer of 1847, Yale was to "proceed in opening the new road with all the force at his command."[16]

The report Anderson made of his 1847 journey out to Fort Langley did not convince Yale that the Fraser valley route was a usable commercial highway. The party left Kamloops on 19 March and proceeded from there down the Nicola River to the "Little Forks" near Spences Bridge and southwest on a rough pathway along the Thompson, Fraser and Anderson rivers to Kequeloose about six miles from Spuzzum at the head of the Fraser canyon. The Indian guide Pashallak recommended that near this point horses could be ferried across the Fraser to a trail which led to the base of the canyon. Anderson felt the banks and strength of water precluded a large-scale horse ferry and, determining to test the navigability of the river, successfully canoed to Fort Langley. Though the river was then in freshet, Anderson concluded that by portaging at two or three places the route could be utilized for the conveyance of goods and furs.[17] Yale, who had been involved with Simpson in his 1828 explorations of the Fraser River, was unconvinced of the placid quality of the Fraser canyon and had intended that Anderson explore a section of the riverbank to avoid the difficult part of the Fraser. He was coming to the conclusion that the route by the Similkameen valley which Anderson had followed the previous spring would probably be more feasible, but Anderson felt otherwise and on 1 June left Fort Langley returning inland by the Fraser to Kequeloose and then overland in a northwest direction to Kamloops.[18] Anderson endorsed the river route to the board of management, reporting that the rapids, "in all from 2 to 3 miles," presented "no insurmountable impediment."[19] In July Yale had a party re-explore the 1846 trail and reported that the snow on the mountain ridge was "of insufficient magnitude to impede the progress of horses."[20]

All of Douglas's hopes sided with the Fraser River route, which he considered would provide year-round access to the ocean, but in view of Yale's hesitation he refrained from giving an opinion on the route "until the 'Falls' have been further examined by good watermen, and reported practicable; and until we are satisfied that all imminent risk can be avoided by means of portages or otherwise."[21] In September 1847 Douglas personally retraced Anderson's explorations with Yale and William Sinclair, spending several days in examining the chain of rapids known as "the falls." "Before he reached the head of the falls," Yale wrote privately to Simpson, "he was convinced that Fraser's River was not quite that placid stream he before seemed to imagine."[22] Contrary to Anderson's picture of two or three miles of rapids with a few intervening smooth places, rapids extended from the Saumeena to the upper Teat Village, a distance of 13 miles. Douglas declared "it is impossible to conceive anything more formidable or imposing than is to be found in that dangerous defile which cannot for one moment be thought of as a practicable water communication for the transport of valuable property." He concluded, however, that Pashallak's suggestion of crossing the river at Spuzzum was practicable and that horses could proceed about 13 miles on the north side of the Fraser to the lower end of the

14 Explorations for new brigade routes to the interior, 1846–47. Gray indicates major mountainous areas. (*Map by K. Gillies.*)


Bonaparte River
0
25 mi.
Fort Kamloops
Thompson River
Spences Bridge
Nicola River
Nicola Lake
Coldwater River
Lake
Fort Langley
Fraser River
Canada
USA

rapids through the narrow winding defile, soon known as Douglas Portage. From the finish of the road at the lower end of the rapids to Fort Langley, approximately 130 miles, transport could be effected by boats.[23]

During their exploration of the Fraser, Douglas and Yale received Indian advice of another route to the south of the Fraser which met the river about 25 miles above Fort Langley. Potentially this route seemed superior to both the Coquihalla road and the Fraser River route for its southern position avoided the elevation of the mountain and its proximity to Fort Langley eliminated the expense of maintaining a fleet of boats exclusively for river transport. A decision on a new commercial highway would have to be made soon for already the Company had learned that its right of "free navigation" of the Columbia was not enforceable and that goods for New Caledonia which arrived at Fort Vancouver were subject to duty. Yet the greater efficiency which the latest route promised recommended its exploration before a final decision was taken. Aiming for 1849 as the first year for using the new brigade trail, the board ordered Yale to have this last alternative examined, to come to a decision and then to start clearing one of the two in the spring of 1848.[24] A party from Fort Langley commenced explorations on 26 October 1847, but their report indicated a scarcity of food for horses, an objection which Yale considered final.[25]

Early in November, therefore, Yale began making the necessary arrangements for opening the route by Douglas Portage. On 10 November his interpreter, Ovid Allard, and a party of six men were sent off to build a store at the crossing place above the rapids and a house and store at the foot.[26] About three weeks after the Langley men had begun to build Fort Yale (as the place at the foot of the rapids was soon called), an incident south of the 49th parallel closed the Columbia River as a commercial highway. The murder of Dr. Whitman and 13 others at the mission station at Wai-i-lat-pu touched off the Cayuse Indian War of 1848 in Oregon and compelled the Company to adopt immediately the Fraser River route.[27] From his letter to Simpson in December 1847, it appears that Yale was aware then that the route to Fort Langley would be used the next summer.[28] In March 1848 the board wrote to Yale approving his move to establish the route by the Fraser River and informing him that the Thompson River, New Caledonia and Fort Colvile brigades could be expected at Langley the first week of June.[29] (In 1825 Simpson had established Fort Colvile as the centre of the Flathead-Coutonais fur trade.)

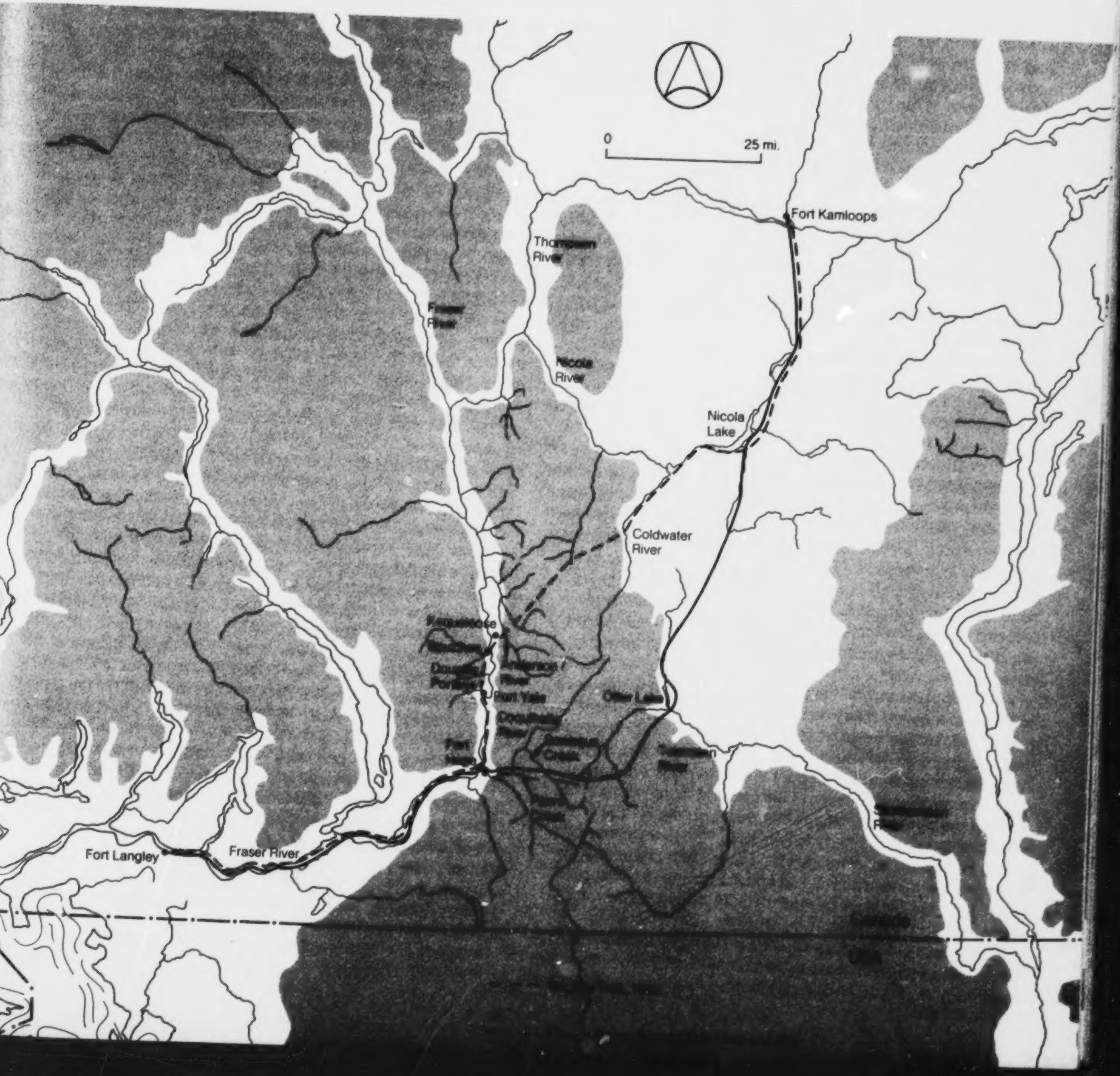
The plan of action as outlined by the board in their March 1848 letter forecast the responsibilities of Fort Langley as the key post in the new transport service. District outfits, with an assortment of goods and equipment for the officers and men, were immediately forwarded by the Brig *Mary Dare*.[30] Even before the Columbia disturbances the Company had sent Samuel Robertson, a boatbuilder, to Fort Langley to build four large *batteaux* for future river transportation.[31] Yale was now instructed to send three of these boats with a supply of provisions for 60 men to Fort Yale by 25 May. The Langley staff was responsible for bringing the men and their fur returns to the depot and transporting the interior outfits to the rapids for the return journey. At the fort Henry Newsham Peers, who accompanied the brigades from the Thompson, was to be placed in the equipment shop to make up the orders and supply the men. Packs of furs had to be opened and dusted, and marten and small furs repacked in empty fur puncheons for shipment to Fort Victoria.[32]

The magnitude of the work undertaken by Fort Langley as trailblazer and depot for the brigades was fully acknowledged by James Douglas and John Work in their letter to the governor and council dated 5 December 1848.

The preparations for opening the new road to the interior for the passage of the summer Brigade threw much additional work upon the establishment of Fort Langley, as besides making the road from Kequeloose to the Ferry, and from thence through the Portage to the lower end of the Falls of Frasers River, a distance of 18 miles, through a wooded country, levelling and zig-zagging the steep ascents, bridging Rivers, there were stores erected for the accomodation of the Brigades above and below the Falls, boats and scows built for the ferry, and seven large Boats for the navigation from Fort Langley to the Falls, there was the heavy transport of provisions to the latter place and a vast amount of other work connected with that object which it required no common degree of energy and good management in Chief Trader Yale to accomplish with 20 men in the course of a severe winter.[33]

The annual Hudson's Bay Company brigades from the interior made their first journey by the new all-British route over the Fraser River trail in the summer of 1848. The three brigades from New Caledonia, Thompson River and Colvile, numbering 50 men and 400 horses, were dispatched in the command of Donald Manson and Anderson. A number of the pack horses were still wild and literally scrambled over the mountains to reach the Fraser River at Spuzzum. Getting the 400 horses and their lading across the freshet-swollen river was another strain and it was followed by an equally difficult journey through Douglas Portage. Meanwhile, the *batteaux* from Fort Langley struggled upstream for eight days against the heavy current, the men towing with lines and pushing with poles to make the rendezvous at Fort Yale. Only the last 130 miles downstream were easy, the current swiftly

15 Brigade routes to the interior posts, 1848–49. Gray indicates major mountainous areas. (*Map by K. Gillies.*)


0
25 mi.
Fort Kamloops
Thompson River
Fraser River
Nicola River
Nicola Lake
Coldwater River
Kequeloose
Douglas' Portage
River
Fort Yale
Otter Lake
River
Fort Hope
Creek
River
Fort Langley
Fraser River
River
Canada
USA

carrying men and baggage to Fort Langley. On the return trip inland the difficulties were greatly multiplied. The trade goods were bulky and more perishable than the furs. Large quantities of merchandise were stolen by the natives who gathered in the canyon for the annual fishing. Seventy horses were lost during the trip and by one account 16 and another 25 pieces of merchandise.[34]

Both Anderson and Manson heartily condemned the Fraser River route as a practical business communication with the interior. Although he had come to agree with the board of management on the unnavigability of the river above Fort Yale, Anderson was reluctant to endorse the Douglas Portage as a feasible route for horses. "The portage known as Mr. Douglas' I do not approve of," he informed Manson in August. "Pasture is scarce and there is a ravine in it which is too steep and rugged." Writing Douglas, he added;

> *My recent experience of the pass in question convinces me that no portage on a large scale could with prudence be effected there during the summer months, after the hosts of barbarians amongst whom we have recently passed are engaged in their fisheries.*

Yet the greatest loss of property and horses occurred in the six-mile mountain tract between the traverse and Kequeloose. Here the horses stumbled and were maimed and the dislodged packs rolled down into the river from the precipices.[35] Manson considered the road by Douglas Portage quite usable, but condemned as "utterly impracticable" the entire route from the Fraser to the plains: "From 45 to 50 miles . . . a succession of very high mountains, rocky and rugged in the extreme, with deep and thickly wooded ravines dividing each range, and with the exception of one place, no grass to be found along the whole extent of the pass."[36]

Yale attributed many of the difficulties of the 1848 experience to bad management. The horses used on the way out for carriage in Douglas Portage were not taken across to the grazing ground or horse guard on the south side of the river, but left in the portage where there was little food for them. An extra 200 horses were brought from Kamloops to the Fraser a month too soon to share in the very scanty means the place afforded for the 100 there. Each man in the brigade had 15 to 20 horses to take care of and there were no spare men for a guard to hurry up the rear. When the last horse was saddled and loaded the day was over and though the distance was but 30 or 40 miles it was a wonder that they got through at all.[37]

In October 1848 Douglas went to Fort Langley to confer with Yale on alternate arrangements for communication with the interior. As early as July 1847, Langley's officer in charge had had Anderson's second 1846 route re-explored with the idea that it might be opened with some changes.[38] When Manson reached Thompson River District after completing his disastrous inland journey of 1848 he had Henry Newsham Peers re-examine this route.[39] The road which Peers recommended followed successively the valleys of the Coquihalla River and Peers and Sowaqua creeks, then crossed the dividing ridge into the Similkameen valley and fell in with Anderson's track of 1846, following it to the Thompson. His report was favourable enough as to ground, the ascent of the mountains being gradual on both sides, but he was informed by his Indian guide that the depth of snow made the mountains impassable with horses until the beginning of July.[40] The same difficulty had prompted Douglas to reject Anderson's 1846 route in favour of the one tried via the rapids of the Fraser River. Douglas still looked on the latter as the least objectionable, but in view of the "extreme reluctance of Mr. Manson to continue the route of last summer" he determined to go to the expense of opening a new road "which in many respects will be found exceedingly inconvenient."[41]

Once again responsibility for making the projected interior route usable fell to Fort Langley. In a memo summarizing their discussions at Fort Langley in October 1848, Douglas instructed Yale to employ as many of his own men as could be spared from the duties of his establishment, with as many Indians as could be induced to assist, to work with Peers in clearing and levelling the new road. The party would select a convenient spot near the mouth of the Coquihalla and build an establishment surrounded with stockades consisting of a dwelling house and two stores to accommodate the brigades passing and repassing to the interior. When the interior outfits arrived at Fort Langley in the spring, Yale would forward them in whole or in part to the establishment at the Coquihalla, provided they might be left there without risk.[42] After making these arrangements, Douglas later decided that the out-coming brigades must reuse the summer route of 1848 since it would be

> *impudent to rely too confidently on the prospect of finding the new road finished and accessible for the passage of the Brigade in the spring of 1849, as the depth of snow, the swolen* [sic] *state of the rivers, the want of pasture and other causes may and most probably will disappoint our hopes.*[43]

Besides preparing the new road south of the Fraser, Fort Langley sent boats and provisions to meet the brigades at the rapids on the Fraser and provided craft for crossing the property above the rapids.[44]

By the early summer of 1849 the Langley party had completed Fort Hope at the mouth of the Coquihalla and opened the new road to a point where further progress was impeded by snow. In May Peers and his men went on the old Fraser River road to repair it and to meet the brigades which were expected to be near.[45] Douglas, who was at the interior depot to hurry the departure of the brigades, reported to Simpson that "the Brigade men behaved well at Fort Langley and started in good spirits in contrast to their behavior the preceding year."[46] About six days' *batteaux* journey from Fort Langley the brigades reached Fort Hope where they commenced the trip inland by Peers's road. There were many difficulties, but according to Manson and Anderson the new route was "infinitely preferable" to the one by the Fraser River.[47] The greatest impediment was the snow in the mountains which left uncertain the outward passage of the brigade in the spring. The snow had also prevented the road from being fully cleared, with the result that Manson and 20 of his men were employed for 15 days clearing the passage.[48] The two-month round trip from Fort St. James to Langley, however, had caused a late return to Stuart Lake which was considered highly unfavourable for the distribution of the outfits.[49]

There was little doubt that Peers's road was more eligible than the long circuitous route to Fort Vancouver, but the time involved in the passage presented some difficulty in a Company timetable designed to get the inland goods distributed well before the winter. Manson left the impression that difficulties could be met by more work on the road,[50] but it soon appeared that there was another reason for the delay. Yale wrote to Simpson that when Peers and his party went to meet the brigades

> *they were found lolling away the time at Kamloops, and to mind the matter the Langley party who were desired to resume their work on the new route after their return with the Brigade to Fort Hope, were brought down here, and thus did Mr. Manson subject himself to the sad necessity of disencumbering the track of some of its obstructions but which he might have got performed without any inconvenience some 15 or 20 days earlier.*[51]

Simpson learned from other sources that Anderson and Manson were at odds with each other and that their failure to communicate had detained the New Caledonia brigade several weeks at Fort Kamloops awaiting the arrival of Anderson with the Colvile returns.[52] Douglas reported that on their return journey they came to high words at Fort Hope and parted in anger.[53]

The successful outward trial of Peers's road by the brigades in 1850 finally established the all-British route to the interior. The brigades crossed the Fraser River ridge without difficulty, the snow being compact enough to support the loaded horses. The men met with no molestation from the natives and in general reported favourably on the road. The Colvile people reached Langley in 17 days' moderate travelling, and the other brigades took ten days from the Thompson.[54]

On 17 August 1850 a rejoicing Douglas wrote to A. Barclay in London;

> *It is a great relief to have established the practicability of this route to the interior through the formidable barrier of mountains which separates it from Frasers River – while it will have the effect of imparting a greater degree of confidence of our own operations, it may also have an important bearing on the future destinies of the country at large; a triumph, probably the last of the kind reserved for the Fur Trade.*[55]

For the officer in charge of Fort Langley who had laboured to open communication at a time when the salmon fishery was increasingly important, the final establishment of the brigade trail also brought relief. Yale felt that henceforth the brigades themselves should assume responsibility for maintaining the route and he confided to Simpson his hope that "the interesting matter will now be permitted to rest with themselves, as more consistent with their means, than that which can be afforded from Langley, and without due consideration might continue to be required annually forever."[56] While Fort Langley's exploratory work was complete, however, its position as interior depot involved a host of arduous duties which it undertook for another decade.

Langley In Its Most Active Phase

Fort Langley in 1850 was on the threshold of the most active phase of its existence. During the next eight years the annual depot routine and adjunct operations of boat building, blacksmithing and farming, as well as a cranberry packing industry, were added to the extensive work of fish curing. The dual focus of the Hudson's Bay Company's Pacific trade, inland and coastal, was served by these activities. Fort Langley depot played a vital role in the annual process of getting goods into the interior and preparing returns for shipment. Its salmon and cranberry industries contributed valuable cargoes to the Company's commercial shipping. In their daily and frequently simultaneous operations, the Fort Langley businesses of the 1850s presented a panorama of activity uniquely representative of the character of the Company's entire Pacific operation.

Fort Langley Depot

The position of interior depot involved three major functions: routine reception and dispatch of goods and men; maintenance of an efficient river transport to Fort Hope, and production of ironwork and foodstuffs for the interior districts.

Annual Routine

About five months prior to the brigade arrival each summer, supplies for the interior were shipped to Fort Langley from the central depot of Fort Victoria.[1] In the course of the winter, members of the Fort Langley staff divided the bulk provisions into smaller units, filling oak kegs from large puncheons of flour, molasses, tobacco and liquor. They also made oilcloths for wrapping bales of goods.[2] At the end of May, George Simpson, eldest son of Governor Simpson and clerk at Victoria, was sent to the Fort Langley equipment shop to supervise the packing of the district outfits and to put up the servants' orders.[3] The inland pieces, which weighed 90 pounds each, probably numbered over 600 pieces for the three districts. Once ready, they were shipped by *batteaux* to Fort Hope. The brigade men and furs were brought down on the return journey.

The three brigade parties from New Caledonia, Thompson River and Fort Colvile annually arrived at Fort Langley about 20 June.[4] Each party had its own officer in charge throughout most of this period, Manson, New Caledonia; Anderson, Fort Colvile, and Paul Fraser, Thompson River. One record specifies there was a total of 60 men and officers,[5] but whole families often accompanied the brigade. In June 1850 Simpson complained that the board of management's application for 300 horses did not arise from the need to transport the outfits, but from heavy demands on private account and "from conveyance of families to and from Fort Langley."[6]

The annual sojourn at Langley was an occasion for celebration by the labouring men of the interior. The depot supplies offered an assortment of articles, scarce or unavailable in the interior, which the servants purchased subject only to their credit and a limit of one-third of a piece each for inland transport.[7] Generous purchases of liquor meant that besides the usual gentlemanly sports and dances, there occurred some classic instances of rowdyism. Yale, a morally disciplined man who ran his fort with an iron hand, was highly incensed with this behaviour. In a letter to Simpson dated 22 October 1852 he wrote;

I anticipated that the Brigades as coming from the interior would have afforded a sample somewhat in accordance with things here, but was sorely disappointed. They could not believe it possible that in a place so obscure anything good could exist, and seemed benignly disposed to regenerate the whole and thwart my whimsical propensities to uphold the ancient and idolatrous usages. The desire of disorganization, that the laws of morality should be changed, perfidy rewarded and honesty scorned, seemed, to my bewildered imagination, to prevade the land . . . . I could not have believed it possible . . . that, among so few people, there could have been found so great a majority of unsteadfast persons.[8]

During one of the four weeks when the brigades were at the depot, Douglas came from Fort Victoria to renew employees' contracts, receive reports from the officers and discuss arrangements for the following year.[9] The business aspect of these meetings was offset by the strong social ties of the Company officers. On his visit in June 1857[10] Douglas had the pleasant task of performing a double wedding ceremony for two of Yale's daughters. Aurelia married John D. Manson, son of Donald Manson, and Bella married George Simpson, the clerk who supervised the packing of the interior outfits.[11] Many years later Aurelia Manson recalled this event.

Our wedding ceremonies were performed by . . . James Douglas, in the presence of his daughter, Miss Agnes, his niece, Miss Cameron, Mr. Dallas, Mr. Pemberton, and Mr. Golledge and Mr. Ogden of Stuart Lake. Captain Mouat gave the signal to the men who were waiting, and seven guns were fired from the fort to salute the weddings of the Chief Trader's daughters.

Mr. Odgen suggested a canoe ride after the ceremonies. So the boats were brought out, manned by the Voyageurs. The Governor, the Chief Trader and the bridal party took the first canoe. The remainder of the party followed in the other one. I can see it all

> *still. We paddled up the Fraser River, the Canadiens singing their Boat Song.*[12]

Once the business and social activities had been concluded and the brigades had departed sometime between 15 and 20 July, the work of preparing the furs for England began. All the inland furs were opened and aired. "The great point," Douglas instructed Yale in 1854, "is to have them thoroughly clean and perfectly dry when packed . . . If the weather is at all damp the furs should be well aired and packed in a house where fires are kept constantly burning."[13] Generally, foxes, martens, minks, muskrats and sea otters were put in rum puncheons. Other furs were packed in bales weighing about 250 pounds (in contrast to the 90-pounds bales for inland transportation), each wrapped with inferior bear skins or hair-seal skins. Beaver skins were spread full length in these bales.[14] The separate packs were numbered and marked with the outfit to which the furs belonged, "C" for the Columbia Department and, after 1853, "W" for the Western Department. A typical bale made up at Langley for shipment to England is suggested in the invoice of sundries shipped by the steamer *Otter* in December 1855.[15] Fur Pack number 4 of this shipment contained 59 large beaver, 30 small beaver, 11 land otter, 29 martens, 4 fishers and 6 lynx. While this particular cargo mainly contained barrels of cranberries and fish and only six packs of furs, the volume of furs annually packed at the depot included those of the four districts of Langley, New Caledonia, Thompson River and Colvile.

Boat Building

Although Fort Langley often helped to clear the brigade trail to Kamloops, after 1850 its principal contribution to the inland communication network was the maintenance of river transportation to Fort Hope, the beginning of the overland trail. Boat building was introduced as an adjunct of this service. About seven *batteaux* were constructed and kept in operation for the 80-mile Fort Langley-Fort Hope run. In addition, keel boats were made to sail across the Strait of Georgia, supplementing steam service from Fort Victoria.

Long before the Hudson's Bay Company had resolved to supply its New Caledonia posts from the sea, the North West Company had successfully introduced *batteaux* for freight along the Columbia River. In 1825 Simpson ordered the continued use of "boats" to carry the Company's outfits from Vancouver to Okanagan.[16] Both "Columbia Boats" and "*Batteaux*" are listed in the Fort Vancouver inventory of 1844[17] although the distinction between the two was not generally made. In 1841 nine *batteaux* rowed by 60 voyageurs transported the New Caledonia outfit on the Columbia River leg of the inland journey.[18]

Early in 1847 when it was anticipated that the Fraser River might provide a water highway some distance into the interior, Anderson suggested the necessity of getting "an adequate number of boats similar in all respects to those used on the Columbia made either at Langley or Kequeloose, during the winter."[19] Samuel Robertson, a boatbuilder from Fort Vancouver, arrived at Fort Langley in April under engagement to build four large *batteaux*.[20] A year later the board of management reported that seven boats had been constructed at Fort Langley for navigation to the rapids.[21]

The actual design of the first Fort Langley-built *batteaux* probably did not vary from the type constructed at Fort Vancouver. Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, who accompanied the inland brigade on the Columbia River in 1841, described these *batteaux*.

> *[Their shape is] . . . somewhat of the model of our whale-boats, only much larger, and of the kind built expressly to accommodate the trade . . . they have great strength and buoyancy, carry three tons weight, and have a crew of eight men, besides a padroon: They are thirty feet long and five and a half feet beam, sharp at both ends, clinker-built and have no knees. In building them, flat timbers of oak are bent to the requisite shape by steaming; they are bolted to a flat keel, at distances of a foot from each other: the planks are of cedar, and generally extend the whole length of the boat. The gunwale is of the same kind of wood, but the rowlocks are of birch. The peculiarity in the construction of these boats is, that they are only riveted at each end with a strong rivet, and being well gummed, they have no occasion for nailing.*[22]

Some alterations were made in the design after several years' experience on the Fort Langley-Fort Hope line. Although specific adaptations are not mentioned, Douglas noted that a new set of river boats, built in 1852, possessed "many improvements in framing and modelling which will better adapt them for the navigation of Fraser's River."[23]

Loaded *batteaux* took from five to six days to make the journey upstream from Fort Langley to Fort Hope.[24] They each carried 60 bales packed for the interior and from six to eight boatmen.[25] There were no portages, but some difficult passages which necessitated tracking. This involved landing about half the load, attaching manilla rope to the sides of the boat and towing or tracking the craft from the river bank through the swift current. The landed packs were transported on voyageurs' backs to the end of the rapids where the cargo was again shipped.[26] On the downward trip the *batteaux* were carried by the current, making the journey in three or four days.[27]

The keel boats which Langley depot built in connection with the transport service were intended "in a pressure to be sent to Fort Victoria for supplies of goods." The board of management commissioned a 50-foot boat for this purpose in April 1847,[28] but the priority of building *batteaux* postponed the project until 1851. Then instructions were given for two keel boats, one of pine and the other of oak. Materials for the former were procured at Langley, but for the latter a keel and oak timber were forwarded from Fort Victoria.[29] A year later Yale received word that one of the finished craft had "arrived safely and is reported to pull and sail remarkably well in addition to her other good qualities in point of model and strength which are equally remarkable."[30]

While the construction of a few keel boats was relatively inexpensive, the maintenance of a fleet of *batteaux* from Fort Langley to Fort Hope was a heavy factor in the total cost of inland transportation. Discovery of a continuous land route from Langley depot to the Thompson could alone relieve this expense. With this object in view the Company had Gavin Hamilton explore a route by the valley of the Chilliwack River during the summer of 1855.[31] He reported favourably on the trail which came to the Fraser 30 miles above Fort Langley, swept south avoiding the mountain barrier of the Coquihalla road and united with the latter on the banks of the Similkameen River.[32] Operations were started on the road from both ends in the fall, but the proposed *batteaux*-free route was abandoned in July 1856 "in consequence of unexpected obstacles which the explorers of the route had overlooked near the Chilliwack Lake, which is enclosed by precipitous rocky hills apparently inaccessible to horses either in a direct line across their summits or by following the margin of the Lake."[33] Transportation by the Fraser remained an integral part of the brigade route and thus boat building continued to be an important enterprise at Fort Langley until the post ceased to be depot in 1858.

Ironwork

As a matter of expediency, ironwork for the interior posts on the Pacific Slope was made at the coastal depot where iron and coal could be easily shipped. When Fort Vancouver ceased to be depot in 1848, the function was temporarily taken over by the blacksmith at Fort Victoria. On 30 August 1850 Yale was informed that since Victoria had only one blacksmith, henceforth the Company would depend on Fort Langley for the manufacture of "all the Iron works required in the Interior."[34]

The annual volume of work which this order entailed is indicated by the "List of Sundry Axes and other Iron work to be made at Fort Langley for the undermentioned Districts, Outfit 1852:"[35]

New Caledonia	*25*	*large round axes*
	56	*half square axes*
	75	*small round axes*
	20	*large square axes*
	50	*small square axes*
	4	*garden hoes*
	12	*crooked knives*
	19	*doz. fine steels*
	7	*pit saw setts*
Fort Colville	*30*	*large square head axes*
	50	*half square head axes*
	100	*small square head axes*
	100	*small round axes*
	30	*garden hoes*
Thompson's River	*6*	*large square head axes*
	30	*half square head axes*
	100	*small round axes*
	400	*rivets pr. saddles*
	100	*rings pr. saddles*
	1	*saw sett*
	24	*scythes hedges*

Other items frequently made for the interior and not included in this list were "ketches, springs, nutts and palletts" for beaver traps, door hinges, handles and latches, ice chisels and horseshoes.[36]

All these orders were completed in conjunction with a variety of other tasks. Fort Langley blacksmiths made iron hoops for the salmon barrels, fastenings for boats, oxen yokes and horse harnesses and many of the hardware items for the buildings. They repaired farm implements, fort locks and hinges and generally kept everything in working condition.[37]

Farming

Cultivation at Langley had been largely abandoned in 1847 in favour of the fishery, but was reintroduced in 1850 in consequence of a general dearth of provisions on the Northwest Coast.[38] The problem arose partly as a result of the 1849 crown grant of Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company for purposes of colonization. The resources of the Fort Victoria farm were insufficient to help the new settlers get started and also supply the Company's inland parties. To divide the burden of provisioning, the board of management determined on raising foodstuffs for the brigades at Langley. This decision was approved by the governor and committee in a letter dated 10 July 1851.

We notice your intention to extend the farm at Langley and trust that you will be able to supply the wants of the interior from that post as we suppose with the large influx of people into Vancouver's Island, you at present consume as much or more than you can raise.[39]

The work of tilling was undertaken by servants who arrived by ship from England in the spring of 1851. Four men were sent to Fort Langley in May to be stationed on the plain. William Atkinson, "an elderly man of excellent character and good education," was placed in charge. With the assistance of local Indians, this work force was "to enlarge the farm, subdivide it into fields of proper size and to surround it with neat substantial rail fences."[40]

Farming progress was immediately blocked by the character of the Englishmen who failed to get along either with local conditions or with the spartan personality of Yale. Douglas warned Yale that because the English labourers were accustomed to better fare than usual, a degree of management would be required to supervise them without causing dissatisfaction.[41] Yale refused to pamper anyone. Ten months later, he dismissed two of the men as "useless" and strongly criticized Atkinson for inactivity. The dismissals caused some inconvenience since there were no readily available substitutes except "stubborn Englishmen" and as Douglas wrote Yale, "you would find [them] quite unmanageable seeing that you have not the character of being a liberal master nor disposed to feed them on roast beef and plum pudding."[42] Langley Farm was later staffed with Orkneymen and Highlanders who were considered better adapted for the service of the interior posts.[43]

Grasses and root crops similar to those raised in the 1840s were cultivated during this period. Unusual grass seeds, probably used for pasturage, are itemized in a July 1850 invoice.[44]

1 bushel Perenial Rye Grass
1/2 bushel Cocksfoot Grass
1 bushel Italian Rye Grass
8 lb. Red Top Clover Grass
6 lb. White Top Clover Grass
2 lb. Foxtail Grass
2 lb. Cow Grass
4 lb. Trefoil Grass
2 lb. Italian Rye Grass

The three main grasses were oats, timothy and wheat. In April 1851, 140 bushels of grain (probably wheat) were sown.[45] Fort Langley wheat, manufactured into flour at Victoria, was one of the major staples supplied to the interior. Another was potatoes which grew exceedingly well and supplied Fort Victoria as well as the brigades.[46]

By 1854 Fort Langley was producing a surplus of grain which was exported for the use of the settlers on Vancouver Island. The area of land under cultivation is not recorded, but judging from the miscellaneous wheat exported to Fort Victoria, it probably did not reach the maximum tilled when Fort Langley contributed wheat to the Russian contract. A liberal estimate would be 200 acres.

Dairy farming at Fort Langley, which had been largely oriented toward the supply of butter for the Russian America Company, did not appear to diminish although the Hudson's Bay Company provisioning agreement was abolished by the renewed contract of 1849. Destruction of a large quantity of grain and the whole stock of fodder by fire in November 1848 followed by a winter of extraordinary severity had reduced the Fort Langley herd from 240 to 80 head.[47] In March 1849, however, the stock was increased to 430 head.[48] Although inventories of livestock for the 1850 period are missing, general correspondence including references to the dairies would suggest a large herd was kept up for at least the next decade.

The Salmon Fishery

The support activities which Fort Langley provided for the interior transport were essential to the annual net profit of the fur trade, but, unlike the Langley salmon-curing industry, they did not appear as a single tangible monetary surplus in the Company accounts. In an operation whose principal goal was profit, it is therefore not surprising that the salmon-curing business should have been nourished with special care. Once Langley salmon claimed attention in the Oahu native market, the Company had quickly developed the industry to its peak export of 2,610 barrels in 1849. Between 1850 and 1854 an average of 1,660 barrels was marketed yearly at prices ranging from $15 to $17.[49] Subsequently, however, demand declined and prices for year-old fish slumped as low as two dollars a barrel. Part of the reason for this trend was competition from other sources, such as Puget Sound, and development of fish curing on the islands themselves.[50] Of greater concern to the Hudson's Bay Company was the reported inferior quality of the Langley salmon. The Company's protracted debate on this issue illuminates the latter two facets of the threefold Langley curing enterprise: 1) trading, 2) curing and 3) coopering.

Trading

From the establishment of the original fort in 1827, inhabitants of Fort Langley had found that they could not fish salmon as cheaply as they could trade them from the Indians. An attempt at fishing in 1828 prompted the conclusion that "the expense in trade would hardly exceed the very cost of Lines and Twine."[51] In 1829 McDonald traded 7,544 salmon for goods amounting to £131 7s. 2d. Given his estimate of 90 salmon to a barrel, the cost in trade per barrel was 3s. 3d.[52] Seventeen years later the cost remained practically the same. In the summer of 1846 Langley cured 1,400 barrels of salmon at an expense of three shillings in goods per barrel.[53]

A statement of the salmon trade at Fort Langley, 10–20 August 1829, specifies the kinds of articles expended for 84 barrels of salmon:[54]

1 common half axe
2 hand dags
8-1/2 doz. rock knives
5-1/2 gross brass rings
1-1/2 gross M.C. buttons
1/2 doz. 8 in. flat files
125 large cod hooks
3 lbs. common Canton beads
10 small chisels
1/3 doz. common horn combs
1 lb. leaf tobacco
Red baize and cotton wire
81 small adzes
4-1/2 doz. scalpers
1/2 doz. yellow wood folders
3-1/3 doz. P.C. looking glasses
1-1/6 gross M. jacket buttons
1-1/2 doz. 7 in. files
50 small kirby hooks
2 pr. wrist bands
1-1/2 lb. vermilion
2 doz. Indian awls

Ball buttons and other small articles were still being used in the salmon trade of 1851.[55]

Before salmon curing developed as an export industry, trading for fish was confined to the wharf in front of Fort Langley. Here the trader stood with a chest of articles and bartered for salmon and other commodities which the natives wished to sell.[56] As exports increased, it became necessary to get greater quantities of fresh fish. A trader and a curing party were then dispatched to the Indian fishing stations farther up the Fraser. One such fishery, established near the Chilliwack River approximately 25 miles upriver from Fort Langley, produced 1,020 barrels of salmon in 1847.[57] This establishment, consisting of "a dwelling house, sheds, salting tubs, 200 empty barrels and about 60 bushels of salt," was consumed by fire in 1848 but was quickly re-established.[58] From time to time traders and curers also set up business at the Harrison River and Fort Hope.[59]

Naturally, the Indians preferred to sell to the highest buyer. When the Company made an attempt to develop salmon curing at Fort Victoria in 1849, the higher valuation of salmon there in comparison to the price given at Fort Langley caused much dissatisfaction among the natives.[60] During the fishing season of 1852, an American ship anchored at the mouth of the river and another with an establishment on Belvou Island obstructed the Langley salmon trade to a greater degree. Yale viewed these fledgling enterprises with disdain. He reported to Simpson; "The choicest goods, such as were reckoned too valuable to be given for fish here, were there readily disposed of at a rate three hundred per cent lower than at Fort Langley, enticing off our Fishermen and causing much bitter reproach from the natives." It was only because the Langley traders were more mobile than the opposition that they finally reconciled the Indians to their tariff.[61]

Curing

Curing or salting commenced immediately after the salmon was traded and usually lasted for four or five days or the duration of the salmon run. Aurelia Manson described the procedure in very general terms.

Many boys, and a man or two, would be running from the wharf with the salmon, which they piled before the women of the fort and others who were seated in a circle in the shed where they cut the salmon. No rest for the boys. They had to continue their running, this time with the cut salmon to the men in the big shed where they were salting the salmon. And so they worked all the week, early in the morning till late at night till the salmon run was over.[62]

The method of cutting the salmon and the recipe for brine including the amount of salt required per barrel of 180 pounds is not recorded although it is known that, contrary to East Coast practice, salmon salted at Langley had the backbone and head removed.[63]

Although the Langley product gained favour among the natives of Oahu, salmon sold to the Hawaiian Islands wholesalers and reexported to other countries did not fair so well. A consignment of Fraser River salmon to Sydney, Australia, in 1853 brought a severe loss to the shippers who contended the fish was not properly cured, being quite soft instead of firm.[64] Robert Clouston, Hudson's Bay Company agent in the Hawaiian Islands, attributed the loss to the inferior quality of the Hawaiian Island salt used to cure the Langley fish. He stated that Liverpool salt would preserve the salmon longer, giving the Company product a decided superiority in the market and inducing speculators to ship to Sydney.[65] As a result of this recommendation, 60 tons of Liverpool salt were forwarded to Fort Victoria in December 1854 and and transhipped to Langley with a memo from Douglas that "a much smaller quantity of Liverpool salt will be required than of the other kind, and the fish will exhibit a healthy ruddy appearance, which will . . . recover their character in the foreign market."[66]

In January 1855 the board of management sent 100 barrels of Fraser River salmon (sans Liverpool salt) for trial in the London market "with the view of reducing [Oahu] stock and of selling to better advantage."[67] The experiment turned out badly, realizing only 18s. per barrel. The report of London fish factors Ricknell and Rotten in July 1855 suggested the main problem was not the salt, but the defective state of the barrels which caused the brine to escape and rendered the fish almost worthless.[68]

Meanwhile the Langley salmon of the 1855 season, cured with Liverpool salt and covered with brine, was reported from the Hawaiian Islands to be "so soft that the natives will not take it" and to have maggots in some barrels in the pickle.[69] This news and the statements from England relative to the Fraser River salmon arrived simultaneously at Langley for Yale's perusal on 8 November 1855.

Langley's chief trader did not appreciate criticism of his salmon-curing business. He blamed poor sales on other fish cured by the Company at Vancouver Island and on methods of marketing. Yale remarked,

Perhaps the Salmon might have been sold when there was a demand for it, at a moderate price . . . . Things will grow rusty by long keeping and bad care, and it is not very surprising that out of 6000 or 7000 barrels some two or three hundred should have become depreciated in quality and value. The tutelar duties of Fraser's River have no control over the fish after they have been salted and shipped for market. We never heard any complaints about the Fraser's River Salmon before an attempt had been made on Belvou and Vancouver's Island to surpass us in the process of curing. The contrast opened the eyes of the Islands, and they wanted fresh supplies from Old Langley.[70]

The reaction of the board of management to these accusations was restrained. While trying to mollify Yale's wounded feelings, Douglas insistently denoted areas for improvement in the curing process. He replied,

Your own experience in curing fish has been so great that I do not think my remarks on the subject would much extend the spheres of your knowledge but I have been taught by experience that two conditions are essential to the proper curing of fish. – First, that the fish should be perfectly fresh, and not overexposed to the sun, which makes it soft and flabby.

Secondly. It should not be washed in fresh water after being cut up but immediately salted down. To keep salmon from becoming rusty the oil should be extracted by filling the cask with pickle to some distance above the brine hole which can be done by placing a circle of clay around it skimming off the oil as it rises to the surface.

The oil will continue to rise for Several days and will be collected in sufficient quantities to pay for the expense of the operation.[71]

In February 1856 Douglas had 150 barrels of Langley salmon repacked at Fort Victoria for shipment to London,[72] but seems to have ignored his own advice to use perfectly fresh fish. In their report on the consignment dated l4 August 1856, Ricknell and Rotten stated, "the fish were not cured and prepared according to our written advice of last year and were principally out of *season* or *old fish.*" As an illustration of the proper way to prepare salmon for the London market, a package containing two Labrador-cured salmon was sent to the Pacific Coast.[73]

Early in 1857 Fort Langley received instructions to cure 200 barrels of salmon for England according to the Labrador sample with head and backbone attached.[74] A scarcity of salmon which caused prices to rise in the Hawaiian Islands subsequently diverted the board of management's attention from the London market.[75] Curing continued in the old manner for the islands until the Fraser River gold rush of 1858 abruptly ended salmon exportation.

Coopering

The quality of coopering came under almost as much attack as curing in accounting for the slump in salmon sales. On repeated occasions the finished state of the Langley salmon barrels was found to be so inferior on arrival in the Hawaiian Islands that the whole cargo had to be repaired at considerable expense.[76] Throughout the 1850s efforts were made to improve the method of coopering.

The salmon barrels manufactured at Langley were made with white pine staves which were hewed in the vicinity and allowed to season for a time.[77] There were two sizes of barrels, the standard 180-pound cask[78] and a smaller number of half barrels, each 90 pounds. At first all were bound with wooden hoops, but these were unable to bear a heavy pressure and on the long voyage to the Hawaiian Islands were likely to burst, causing the pickle to leak out. In 1852 instructions were given Yale to have two iron chine (end) hoops on as many barrels as possible and to secure wooden hoops with small nails.[79] A letter dated 6 April 1854 indicates that two-thirds of the barrels were then provided with iron hoops and the other third were bound with wood to serve for the native trade at Oahu.[80]

The barrel-making industry employed at least four coopers at Langley. The head cooper, William Cromarty, was paid £50 sterling a year and his assistants received from £25 to £30.[81] Work was carried out in the cooper's shop which was equipped with the contemporary tools of the trade such as adzes, broad axes, tap borers, braces and bits, compasses, dogs, drivers, truss hoops and inshaves.[82] The cooper's shop was located on the north (river) side of the fort. It was destroyed by fire in 1852 and subsequently resituated in the building on the east side of the fort which remains today as the only surviving original structure of Fort Langley.[83]

In May 1852 Yale sold ten new empty barrels to Captain James Cooper, a former employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, lately turned entrepreneur.[84] Cooper proposed to use the services of the Langley cooperage to establish his own fishery and to package cranberries and potatoes traded from the natives for export to San Franciso. When the board of management learned of his intention, they defended the Company's exclusive right of trade by limiting the sale of barrels to Cooper and entering the cranberry trade on their own acccunt.[85] Thus, besides making nearly 2,000 salmon barrels, from 1852 the Langley coopers yearly turned out over 500 cranberry kegs.

The Cranberry Industry

The Fort Langley cranberry industry was not only motivated by the Hudson's Bay Company's desire to keep other traders out of the country and maintain a monopoly of commerce with the Indians. A quick appraisal of the San Franciso market in the fall of 1852 suggested that cranberries might actually be more remunerative than salmon. "We can sell as many cranberries as you can possibly furnish at from 75¢ to 1 dollar per gallon," Douglas wrote Yale on 7 December. "A Barrel being equal to 33 to 42 dollars a much better article than Salmon, therefore, get as many as you possibly can, as besides the direct profit arising from the trade other parties will be deterred from meddling with the Company's business."[86]

Several years and much argument passed before the Langley cranberries were groomed suitably to market taste. The 1853 and 1854 fruit was put up in casks of 24 gallons which according to scant instruction from Victoria were merely filled with berries and afterwwards with as much water as the cask would contain.[87] These sold well at $12 a barrel or 50 cents a gallon, but did not bring the phenomenal prices anticipated by Douglas in 1852. Since most of the cranberries were bought for trade in the interior of California, the Langley packages were considered too large. In October 1854 Thomas Lowe, the Company agent in San Francisco, advised that henceforth cranberries be packed in kegs of 10, 15 and 20 gallons.[88]

The extra coopering necessitated by Lowe's advice was instantly perceived by Langley's officer in charge, who sarcastically wrote to Douglas, "I presume it was not intended that we should relinquish the salmon trade and keep our coopers employed throughout the year making kegs for cranberries."[89] For the 1855 season, Yale had his coopers manufacture 200 half-barrels or 12-gallon kegs and 100 8-gallon kegs. The remaining three-fourths of the cranberry yield was packed in 425 barrels of the old 25-gallon size.[90]

Although the whole 1855 quantity of 725 barrels sold at 55 cents a gallon and yielded net proceeds of $8,132.67, the Langley product still failed to command the $1.25 per gallon accorded United States cranberries.[91] The chief objection to the Company berries was reported to be "their being badly put up and exceedingly foul, being mixed with leaves, moss and other substances." In February 1856 Yale was cautioned to run the berries through a winnowing machine and "have them thoroughly well cleaned on all future occasions before packing."[92]

Early in September 1856 a cargo of 489 barrels and 175 half-barrels of cranberries was shipped from Langley and immediately dispatched to San Franciso "to have the first supply of that fruit in the market and the chance at the highest price."[93] It sold at 35 cents a gallon. Lowe complained the berries were sent to market at too early a season when fruit was abundant in California. He further stated the fruit was not ripe and the packages fell short of measurement. In a letter relaying this information to Yale, Douglas called for an immediate additional shipment of fuller casks and riper fruit. "Pray my friend," he implored, "do not despair of the future but get as many more cranberries as you can, and try to make those savages wait till they are ripe before they pick them."[94]

This request for a second batch of cranberries coming with the debate on Langley salmon was too much for Yale. In a scathing letter to the board of management in October 1856 he wrote,

The Cranberry plant is not bifarious – it bears fruit only once annually, and it seemed not unreasonable to anticipate some fair shadow of approbation that at so small a cost, in spite of opposition and without very stimulating advice, we had managed to procure so great a proportion of the last year's crop – $10,000 worth of fruit from Fort Langley in course of one season; this would seem no trifle, and yet evidently dissatisfaction reigns.

Yale pointed out the steps taken at Langley to obtain a good product.

> *No one now may feel disposed to admit the fact that one of the Langleyans had discernment enough to think of the winnowing machine as accomodable for cleaning the berries and that we have built a stable and a stately store for the convenience of the business. It seems to me . . . that the purchasers were rather prone to amplify a little on their foulness. The poor people could not now afford to purchase any more at the rate of $1.25 per gallon.*[95]

That the Company certainly made adequate profit from the Langley cranberry industry appears from the following cost analysis of the 1856 trade prepared by Douglas for the London committee.[96]

> *An estimate of the result of the Cranberry trade for Outfit 1856 is difficult to ascertain with exactness, for the reason that the berries are procured in barter, from the Native Tribes at Fort Langley, and amidst the hurry and bustle of trade, when Indians are numerous and pressing in their demands, and trading all sorts of things at the same time; it is utterly impossible to determine the precise cost of each or to ascertain any thing beyond the general expenditure of goods for the day. There being, however, a price fixed upon every article sold in the Indian shope, our estimate of the cost of the Cranberries will be founded on that established rate of barter, thus we find that a Blanket of 2-1/2 pts. valued at 7/1 is given for 24 Gallons of Cranberries, however, though the Blanket is the equivalent in trade of that quantity of Cranberries, very few blankets are actually expended in that trade, the value being made up with beads, vermilion, knives, needles, thread and other less costly articles, in quantities considered equivalent in trade to the Blanket, though their money cost, is not, by any means, so great.*
>
> *We thus arrive at the conclusion that the first cost of Cranberries is something less than 4d a gallon, which we shall however assume to be the price, in order that the first cost may be fully covered.*
>
> *The Barrels, being all made by the servants on the Establishment at Fort Langley, we have valued at a low rate but yet fully representing their actual cost to the concern.*
>
> *All the other expense are exactly known, and charged in the account herewith forwarded, showing the result of the Cranberry trade for Outfit 1856, which you will observe has realized a profit of £613.18.5-1/2.*
>
> *To that profit may fairly be added the sum of £514.14.2. charged against the consignments and credited Fort Langley for barrels, a sum which nearly covers the whole expense for servants wages (£584.17.3) incurred at the Post for Outfit 1856, and on the same principle, a part of the expenses of the "Otter" which otherwise she would not have earned are covered by the Freight charge of £210..2..8. credited that vessel for carrying the berries to San Franciso, thus the sum actually brought to credit of the Western Department, by those consignments is as follows Vizt.,*

Profit as per account	*£613.18.5-1/2*
Cost of Barrels	*514.14.2*
Freight	*210. 2.8*
In all	*£1338..15..3-1/2*

The fortunes of 1854, 1855 and 1856 were not repeated. A dry season in 1857 was unfavourable to the production of cranberries with the result that only 13 12-gallon and 180 8-gallon kegs were shipped from Langley.[97] The excitement of 1858 relegated the cranberry industry to a domestic venture.

Fort Langley's triple role during the 1850s as interior depot, salmon and cranberry exporter was a major force making Hudson's Bay Company commerce on the northern Pacific Slope a flourishing enterprise. The smooth functioning of an all-British route to the interior, of which Langley's boat building, ironwork, provisioning and forwarding were so integral a part, was basic to Company success. The Fort Langley salmon and cranberry industries, while low in volume and rudimentary in method, supported shipping and added substantial profits to the Company ledgers. Fort Langley defined future trade and transportation patterns and, by contributing to the strong economic presence of the Hudson's Bay Company, guaranteed British political interests during the Fraser River gold rush of 1858. That the post could not sustain these activities in the face of government and settlement did not lessen its achievement.

Gold Rush: Climax and Turning Point of Fort Langley's Career

The endurance of the commercial prominence which Fort Langley achieved as a trading and transporting point in the 1850s was predicated on many factors, but on none more fundamental than the continuance of the fur trade. As long as the vast territory of the Pacific mainland was essentially an isolated preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company with a total non-Indian population of less than 200, fur resources and the logistics of supply determined the important foci of activity. When the Fraser River gold rush rapidly altered the number and distribution of people and centres, the fur trade collapsed and the economic life of Fort Langley was profoundly changed. During the months of 1858 which brought about this change, Langley climaxed its career by becoming the starting point for the gold rush and the inauguration place of a British colony on the Pacific mainland.

Discovery of gold on the Flathead River in Oregon prompted Company discussion on the impact of a major northern discovery almost three years before the famous Fraser River rush. In August 1855 Douglas predicted that "the streams north of the Columbia will be found equally rich in gold, and probably the day is not distant when the great discovery will be made."[1] Then and later there was apprehension that the fur trade would suffer from the effects of these discoveries, but a more persistent concern was that the Company, by supplying the miners, might increase the value of its general returns.[2] In March 1856 Douglas wrote to Simpson, "the chances of our making a profitable trade will be greater just in proportion as the expense of transport decreases, and the locality of the Gold diggings is brought nearer our Depot at Fort Langley."[3]

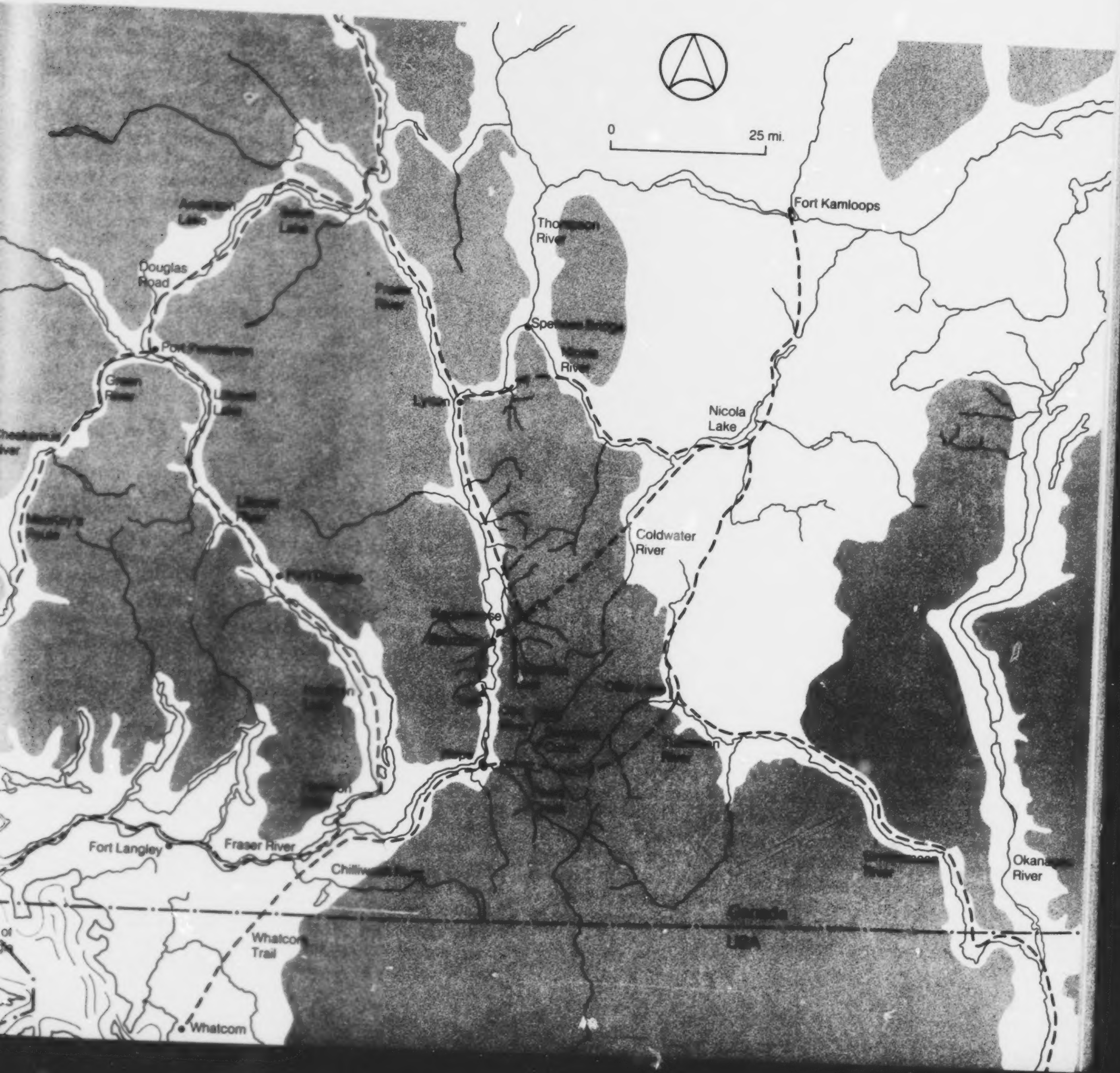
During the spring of 1856, gold was found in several parts of the Thompson River District and Yale reported small quantities of the metal in the bed of the Coquihalla River near Fort Hope.[4] New discoveries made by native peoples throughout the following year provided assurance of gold being found in considerable quantities in the British interior.[5] The Company post at Kamloops traded 49 ounces of gold dust from Indian diggers in August 1857.[6] Both Indians and fur traders moved to monopolize the gold deposits for their own benefit, the Indians by open antipathy to foreign adventurers,[7] the Company by legal and practical measures to cut off American competition for the gold trade.

The Hudson's Bay Company had no legal governing authority on the Pacific mainland, but for years its board of management had skillfully acted to protect life and property and to contain crises between the native people and the whites. Douglas now attempted to protect the Company from American entrepreneurs in the same paternalistic fashion. In November he wrote the officer at Kamloops that "the Company having the exclusive right of trading with Indians on the West side of the mountains, no other person can lawfully carry on trade or erect trading establishments within the British territory and you may warn them off on any attempt to do so."[8] As governor of Vancouver Island and nearest British official within thousands of miles, Douglas also issued a proclamation declaring the rights of the crown to all gold found in its natural place of deposit and forbidding gold seekers unless duly authorized by Her Majesty's colonial government.[9]

The practical step of preparing and operating supply routes to the mines put the Hudson's Bay Company in the best position to dominate future events. For this important task Douglas enlisted the trailblazing aptitude and depot experience of Fort Langley. Yale advised that goods might be forwarded by way of the 13-mile Douglas Portage as far as the junction of the Thompson and Fraser.[10] A plan was therefore devised to have a transport corps of two officers, ten white men and several Indians to conduct a continuous supply service by this route.[11] The machinery for the transport operation involved two lines of river craft: canoes for use between the Thompson and the upper end of the rapids of the Fraser River and *batteaux* for 130 miles from the lower end of the rapids to Langley.[12] The journey through Douglas Portage was to be made on foot. Langley carpenters built the *batteaux* in January and the transport service commenced a month later.[13]

Two trips were made by the Fraser before the annual rise in the river forced the transfer of supply services to the Fort Hope road. Douglas was at Fort Langley on 15 February to dispatch the first supply party for the interior. The expedition, in clerk George Simpson's charge, took one loaded *batteaux* as far as old Fort Yale, transported the property overland by Douglas Portage to Spuzzum immediately above the falls, and thence went by canoe to Tecungean (now Lytton) where the Thompson met the Fraser. There the goods were received by a horse brigade from Kamloops.[14] On a second inland trip in March, an enlarged Fort Langley party started building a new post at the forks, to be called Fort Dallas (in November that year its name was changed to Lytton).[15] The old buildings at Fort Yale, which had been abandoned after Peers's road to Fort Hope became the brigade trail, were renewed and a stack of provisions were laid up there and at Fort Dallas for the spring trade.[16]

Throughout these preparations the Company monitored the extent of possible gold deposits. Since the Indian population had commenced mining on the Thompson in July, there had been a total gold yield of 1,000 ounces. Allowing for the disproportion in the number and skill of the mining population in the two countries, 16 Routes to the Fraser River gold fields. Gray indicates major mountainous areas. (*Map by K. Gillies.*)


0
25 mi.
Fort Kamloops
Thompson River
Anderson Lake
Seton Lake
Douglas Road
Fraser River
Spences Bridge
Nicola River
Port Pemberton
Green River
Lillooet Lake
Lytton
Nicola Lake
Lillooet River
Coldwater River
Fort Douglas
Fort Langley
Fraser River
Chilliwack River
Similkameen River
Okanagan River
Canada
USA
Whatcom Trail
Whatcom

the return was relatively small compared to the California mines which during the same initial eight-month period yielded 150,000 ounces.[17] The conclusion seemed obvious: these statistics would not attract the white miner, but when news spread that 800 ounces of gold had been sent from Victoria to the San Francisco mint in February,[18] the rush to Fraser River was on.

The great influx of adventurers started in April when the American steamer *Commodore* arrived in Victoria with 455 passengers from San Franciso. There were double that number in May, more than 7,000 in June, 7,000 in July and at least 8,000 more who made their way overland. By August when the fever began to subside, the registered departures from San Francisco had totalled almost 30,000. Frequently, ships carried more than the officially accepted number. The *Sierra Nevada*, which landed 1,900 people in Victoria on 1 July, had sailed from San Francisco the previous month with a "maximum" of 900 passengers.[19]

Since the first focus of mining activity was at the junction of the Thompson and Fraser rivers, whether would-be prospectors came overland or by boat from Victoria, Fort Langley was for all the last point before the gold district. As such the fort became the administrative and policing centre of British and Company interests. On 8 May 1858 Douglas issued a proclamation asserting the exclusive trading rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, forbidding British and foreign trade on the mainland and requiring all river craft of any sort to purchase a licence from the Company and a sufferance from the proper customs officer at Victoria.[20] To enforce these regulations Douglas persuaded the naval authorities to station the gunboat *Satellite* at the mouth of the Fraser and to anchor her launch and gig off Langley. Two revenue officers at Langley seized contraband goods and took unlicensed canoes into custody.[21]

In addition to its policing responsibilities, Langley had already assumed charge of the forwarding business to the mines and now became itself a major retail outlet. The Fort Langley saleshop was doing a brisk business in May and had received 336 ounces of gold dust and about $5,000 cash since the beginning of March.[22] Articles in demand were blankets and woollen clothing, tinware such as pots and frying pans, various mining tools including pans and pickaxes, and provisions, principally flour, bacon, beans and molasses. Food was scarce but the Company tried to keep it inexpensive. Flour sold at nine dollars per 100-pound sack and sugar at 16 cents a pound. In anticipation of greater scarcity of food in the winter of 1858–59, the Company directed its traders to secure as many dried salmon as possible.[23]

To the average miner, American in extraction and used to the undisciplined free enterprise of California mining towns, dealing at the Hudson's Bay Company fort store was an unusual experience. The editor of the *Alta California* recorded in detail his observations of the regimentation of business at Langley saleshop.

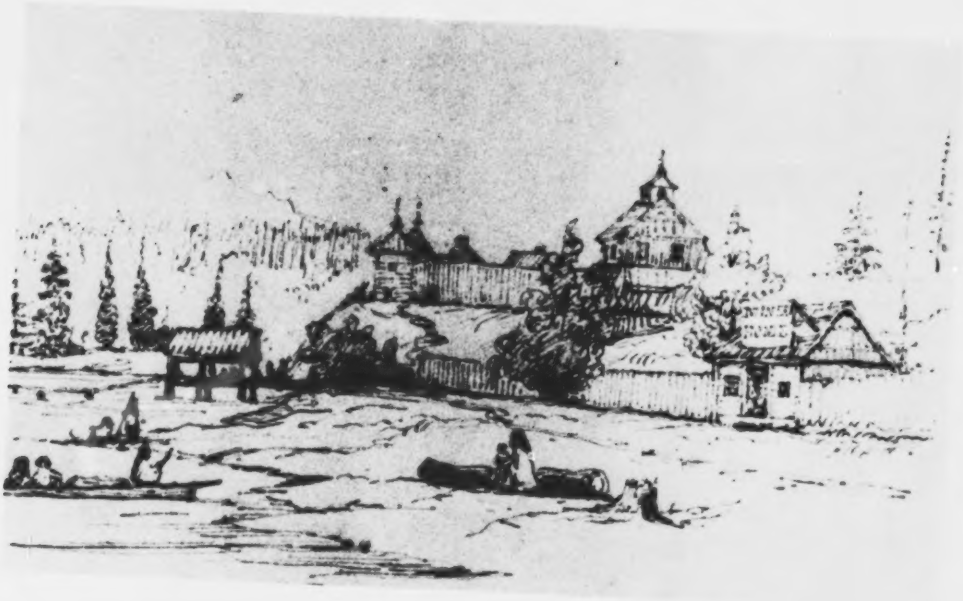
> *At six o'clock in the morning the massive bolts and bars are unlocked from the entrances to the stockade which surrounds the buildings of the Hudson's Bay Company . . . . At a later hour in the morning the door of the sales-room is opened, in the loft next to the northeastward of the chief trader's residence, and the business of the day begins. The door is scarcely opened when the small space allotted to customers inside the building is filled with people, and from that moment trade is unceasing, and a continuous stream of coin flows into the till of the Company until noon, when a bell rings and business ceases at once. Everybody leaves the store-house, the doors are closed, and all hands go to dinner. At the end of an hour business is resumed again, and the same dull and monotonous routine is gone through with until six p.m. when again trade is brought to a dead halt, the crowd disperses, and the business portion of the day is ended.*

The conduct of business was not only routine, but also quaint and out of fashion. Amused, the writer continued,

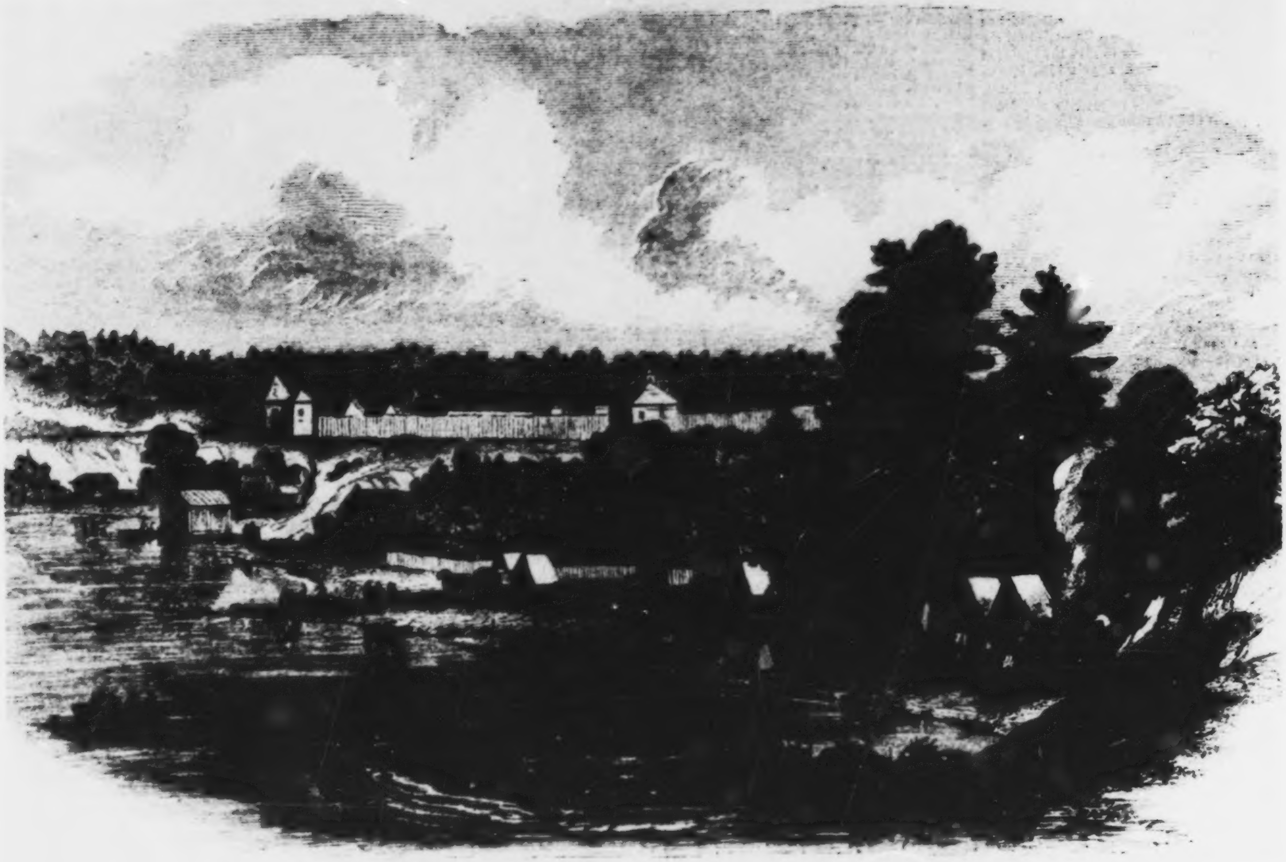
> *Inside this trading warehouse there is a look of venerable antiquity that it would be difficult to match in any other portion of the world today. The scales used for weighing out the wet goods are the old style balances, with ponderous upright and beam, and capacious trays for the reception of merchandise, suspended from the one end, and one for the weights from the other. Everything else about the establishment is in keeping with this, and business is transacted exactly as it used to be in the quaint old towns of the thriving Knickerbockers and early tradespeople of staid New England.*
>
> *A bottle of whiskey, or "Hudson's Bay lightning," as it is not inappropriately called, when sold to a purchaser, is first carefully corked, then a string tied around the neck, and a loop formed so that it may be conveniently suspended from the finger, then a piece of paper is carefully wrapped around it, and the customer receives possession of his property . . . it is to such customs that Young America applies the expressive title of "old fogyism."*[24]

In April the Company concluded the loft saleshop was too small and inconvenient for a large-scale business and decided to relocate the retail operation on the ground floor of the residence to the left of the Big House. The new shop, fitted up during May, was divided into a store area and a baling room for packing servants' orders and other purposes.[25] But the salesroom was never used,[26] probably because the extension of navigation to Forts

17 Fort Langley, 24 May 1858, from the private sketchbook of Alexander Grant Dallas. (*Dr. O.V. Briscoe, London, England.*)



18 "Fort Langley, Frazer's River,"
Harper's Weekly, 9 October 1858.
(*U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C.*)



Hope and Yale diverted much of the expected business from Langley.

Hudson's Bay Company vessels (principally the *Otter*), which by law provided the only steamship accommodation on the Fraser, were too heavy to ascend the river beyond Fort Langley. To reduce the expense of *batteaux* transport the Company contemplated buying a small river steamer of 100 tons to ply between Fort Langley and the rapids on the Fraser River.[27] The purchase was not made, however, before the need was met through another avenue. In June the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to license steamers to run between Victoria and the rapids on certain conditions, among them the carriage of only Company goods and the payment of two-dollar fee to the Company for every passenger.[28] On Sunday 7 June the American steamer *Surprise* made the first steam trip to Fort Hope and a month later the sternwheeler *Umatilla* reached Yale.[29] Although Fort Langley now shared a greater amount of business with the up-river posts, for two months it continued to be the hub of commercial activity on the Fraser. During June and July the influx of adventurers reached its peak with 1,732 persons arriving in a single day in July.[30] Not all of these could afford passage on the river steamers and they paddled their own craft to the Fraser, calling first at Fort Langley. Visiting the site in July, Douglas reported sales averaging $1,500 a day.[31] A small tent village was growing outside the palisade and one enterprising individual opened a log cabin called the "Miner's Home," offering fare that "would have done no discredit to a first-class restaurant."[32]

The arrival of the brigade train on 30 June was a festive occasion for both Company men and miners at Langley. A Prince Edward Island prospector, who attended the welcoming ball for the annual visitors, wrote his impressions of the event for the people back home.

> *I . . . was not a little surprised at seeing the company composed of so heterogeneous a kind. There were the English, Scotch, French and Kanackas present, and their offspring, and all so thoroughly mixed with the native Indian blood, that it would take a well versed Zoologist to decide what class of people they were, and what relations they had to each other; though that will cause you but little surprise, when you are informed that almost all the Co.'s wives are the native Squaws, their children, which are called half breeds, as a general thing, being quite fair, docile and intelligent. The Ball was conducted with the best possible decorum. The music was sweet, from the violin, and the dancing was performed in the most gracefull manner, by the Indians and the half breeds, who took a very prominent part on that occasion.*[33]

Gold fever created a state of intense excitement among the men of the brigade contingent that summer. Many of them had no doubt personally talked with miners at Lytton, Fort Hope and Langley. They were not disposed to continue in the service at £20 a year for middlemen and £25 a year for "Boates" while others made as much in one week digging gold. Only after ardent persuasion by Douglas did they agree to be rehired at an advance of £10 each on their former rate of pay.[34] On 18 July the brigades from Thompson River and New Caledonia left Fort Langley for the last time. The opening of steam transportation 80 miles beyond Fort Langley had created a new head of navigation and meant that henceforth the depot for the Company brigades would be Fort Hope.[35]

Inevitably the gold rush caused greater disruption and change in the fur trade. The sudden influx of thousands of foreigners into a large unorganized territory immediately raised problems of law, order and nationality. In his efforts to preserve discipline over the mining community, Douglas made little distinction between Company and British interests. Payment of suffrances and the observance of other Company rules might also be interpreted as a recognition of the authority of the crown from which the Company received its rights. Revenue officials and officers of the warship *Satellite* equally enforced British customs laws and the Company monopoly. Douglas, governor of Vancouver Island and chief manager of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific Coast, personally epitomized the identity of crown and company,[36] but it was an identity that could never endure. Douglas early realized that government by proclamation was an inadequate means of permanently administering a new population. Implicit in his resolve to secure maximum benefit for the Company from the rush was a fatalistic attitude toward the survival of the fur trade. Company experience in Oregon had proved the incompatibility of the fur trade and large-scale immigration. By June Douglas was convinced that the growth in the number of squatters throughout the Fraser valley was "impossible to arrest" and he therefore recommended the immediate opening of the country for settlement with due compensation to the Hudson's Bay Company for relinquishing its licence.[37]

The imperial government discussed the problem of governing the mainland during the summer of 1858. There was strong approval of Douglas's effort to maintain public order and the rights of the crown but condemnation of his liberal interpretation of Company rights. In a dispatch dated 16 July 1858, Colonial Secretary E.B. Lytton reminded Douglas that "the Company is entitled under its existing license, to the exclusive trade with the Indians and possesses no other right or privilege whatever." He

19 The interior of the Fort Langley yard, looking south, showing "the Hall," by E. Malladaine, 15 December 1858. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)

20 Fort Langley, south view, by E. Malladaine, 15 December 1858. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)

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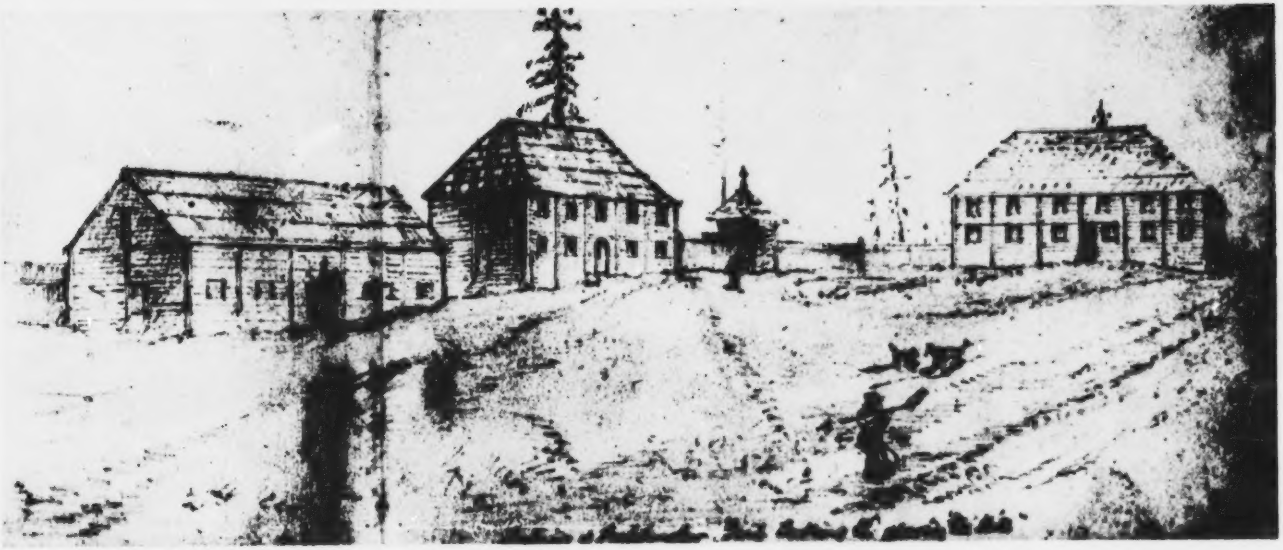

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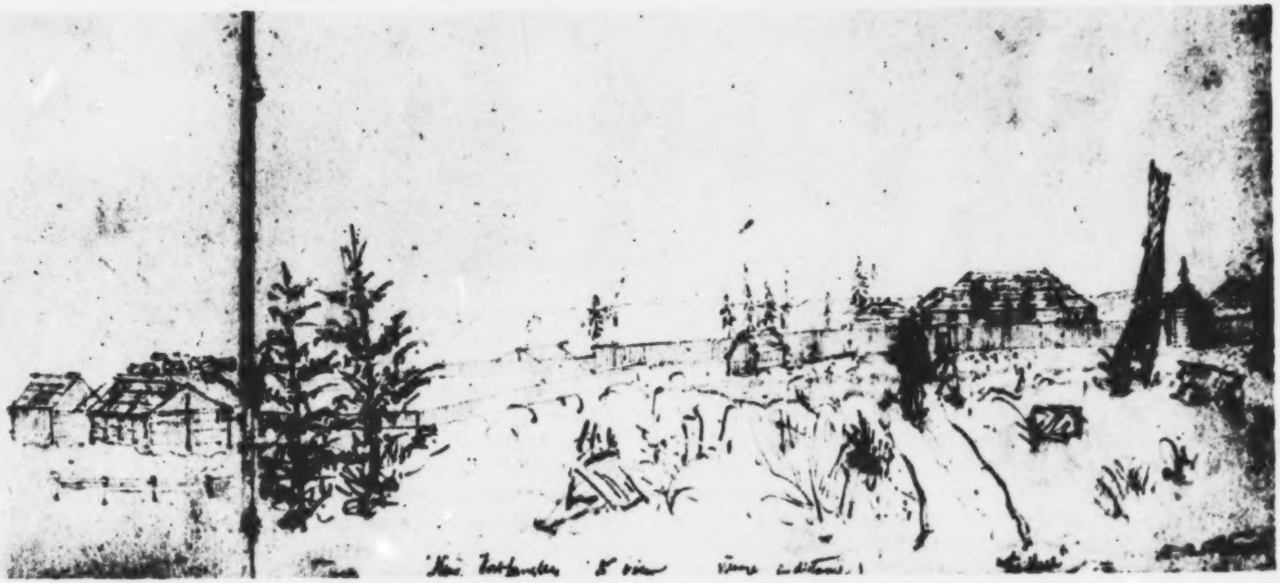
"New Fort Langley" S. view

pointed out that it was therefore contrary to law and consequently disallowed to exclude importation of goods or to prevent any persons from trading with any inhabitants except the Indians – still more to require a licence from the Company for persons landing in the territory.[38] At the same time Douglas was authorized to take such measures consistent with the rights of British subjects.[39] Her Majesty's government decided to establish a mainland colony and proposed that Douglas be appointed governor on condition that he sever all connections with the Company.[40]

The Act creating the colony of British Columbia was passed by the British Parliament on 2 August 1858.[41] Douglas was appointed governor on 2 September[42] and by an instrument of the same date the exclusive trading privileges of the Hudson's Bay Company were abrogated.[43] A detachment of 150 Royal Engineers under the command of Colonel Richard Moody was immediately dispatched to the coast to survey land for public sale, lay out the capital, construct roads and assist in the various duties of colony building.[44] The first two parties, commanded by Captains Parsons and Grant, arrived in Victoria on 29 October and 8 November respectively.[45] Following the arrival of incumbent chief justice Matthew Baillie Begbie on 15 November,[46] a ceremony took place for the administration of oaths and the formal proclamation of the new colony.

The official inauguration of the colony of British Columbia took place at Fort Langley on Friday, 19 November 1858. Although steady rain throughout the day threatened to mar the event, the ceremony was conducted with becoming solemnity inside the Big House. An account of the proceeding appeared in the *Victoria Gazette* of 25 November.

> *His Excellency, accompanied by . . . a guard of honor commanded by Capt. Grant disembarked on the wet, loamy bank under the Fort, and the procession proceeded up the steep bank which leads to the palisade. Arrived there, a salute of 18 guns commenced pealing from the Beaver, awakening all the echoes of the opposite mountains. In another moment the flag of Britain was floating, or, to speak the truth, dripping over the principal entrance. Owing to the unpropitious state of the weather, the meeting which was intended to have been held in the open air was convened in the large room at the principal building. About 100 persons were present.*
>
> *The ceremonies were commenced by His Excellency addressing Mr. Begbie, and delivering to him Her Majesty's commission as Judge in the Colony of British Columbia. Mr. Begbie then took the oath of allegiance, and the usual oaths on taking office, and then, addressing His Excellency, took up Her Majesty's Commission appointing the Governor, and proceeded to read it at length. Mr. Begbie then administered to Governor Douglas the usual oaths of office, viz.: allegiance, abjuration, etc. His Excellency being then duly appointed and sworn in, proceeded to issue the Proclamation of the same date, (19th instant) viz.: one proclaiming the Act; a second, indemnifying all the officers of the Government from any irregularities which may have been committed in the interval before the proclamation of the Act; and a third proclaiming English Law to be the Law of the Colony. The reading of these was preceded by His Excellency's Proclamation of the 3d inst., setting forth the Revocation by Her Majesty of all the exclusive privileges of the Hudson Bay Company.*
>
> *The proceedings then terminated. On leaving the Fort, which His Excellency did not finally do until today [20 November] another salute of 17 guns was fired from the battlements, with even a grander effect than the salute of the previous day.*[47]

As the echoes of the 17-gun salute faded into the mountains, the impact of the new order was beginning to show in a slowdown of activities at the fort. Langley, head of transportation and forwarding centre for the interior, was now superseded by Forts Hope and Yale on the Fraser and by Port Douglas, the terminus of the navigable portion of the busy new Harrison-Lillooet route.[48] A.G. Dallas, who replaced Douglas as head of the Company's board of management for the West Coast, announced in March 1859 that goods would henceforth be shipped *direct* to Forts Hope and Yale.[49] As a result, most of the work associated with being brigade depot was abandoned at Langley, specifically boat building, packing, loading and transportation of interior outfits, fur baling and shipping, and the lodging, provisioning and equipping of the brigade contingent. Fewer travellers called at the fort and business at the saleshop became exceedingly dull.[50]

Early in 1859 speculation increased that the site of the original Fort Langley built by McMillan in 1827 would become the capital of the new colony. A townsite had been laid out and a public auction of lots held in Victoria on 25 November 1858 reserved "the best situated lots . . . for the special purposes of government."[51] But the favourable combination of shipping, farm and fishery facilities which had made the south side of the Fraser so vital to the fur trade was not the criterion used for the final selection of the new capital. Imperial military strategy ruled out Langley as too vulnerable in the event of an American attack.[52] In February 1859 Colonel Moody designated a site on the north bank of the river as official port of entry and capital of British Columbia.[53] This decision encouraged the development of New Westminster[54] as the principal commercial town on the mainland in preference to Fort Langley, the traditional commercial centre on the Fraser.

21 James Douglas, governor of the colony of British Columbia, 1858–63. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)

22 Fort Langley, north view, from the Fraser River, by E. Malladaine, 7 January 1859. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)

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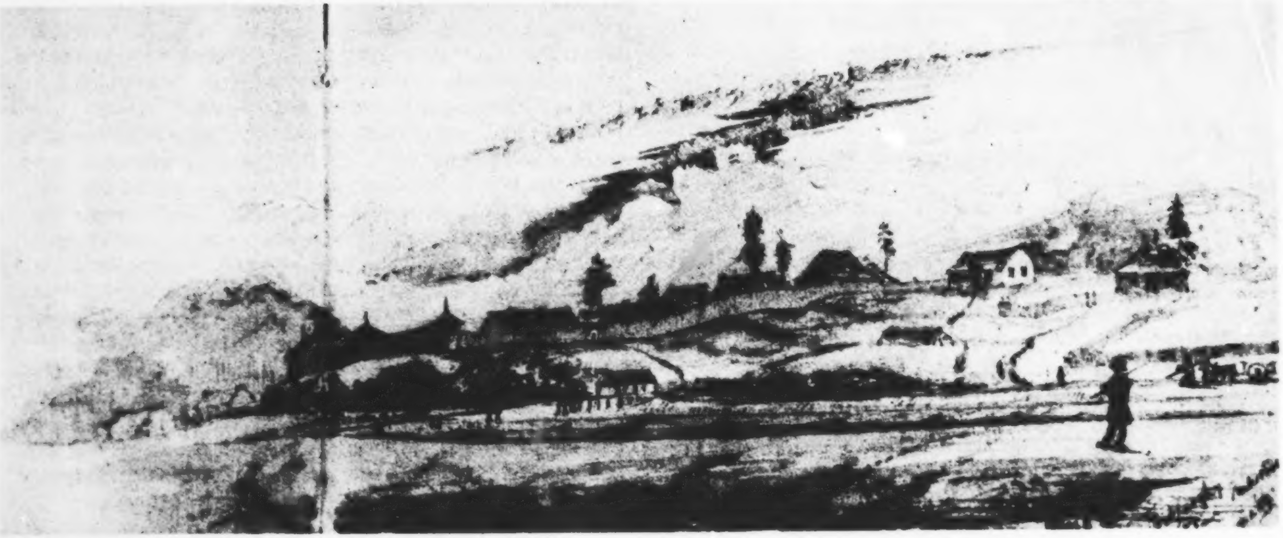
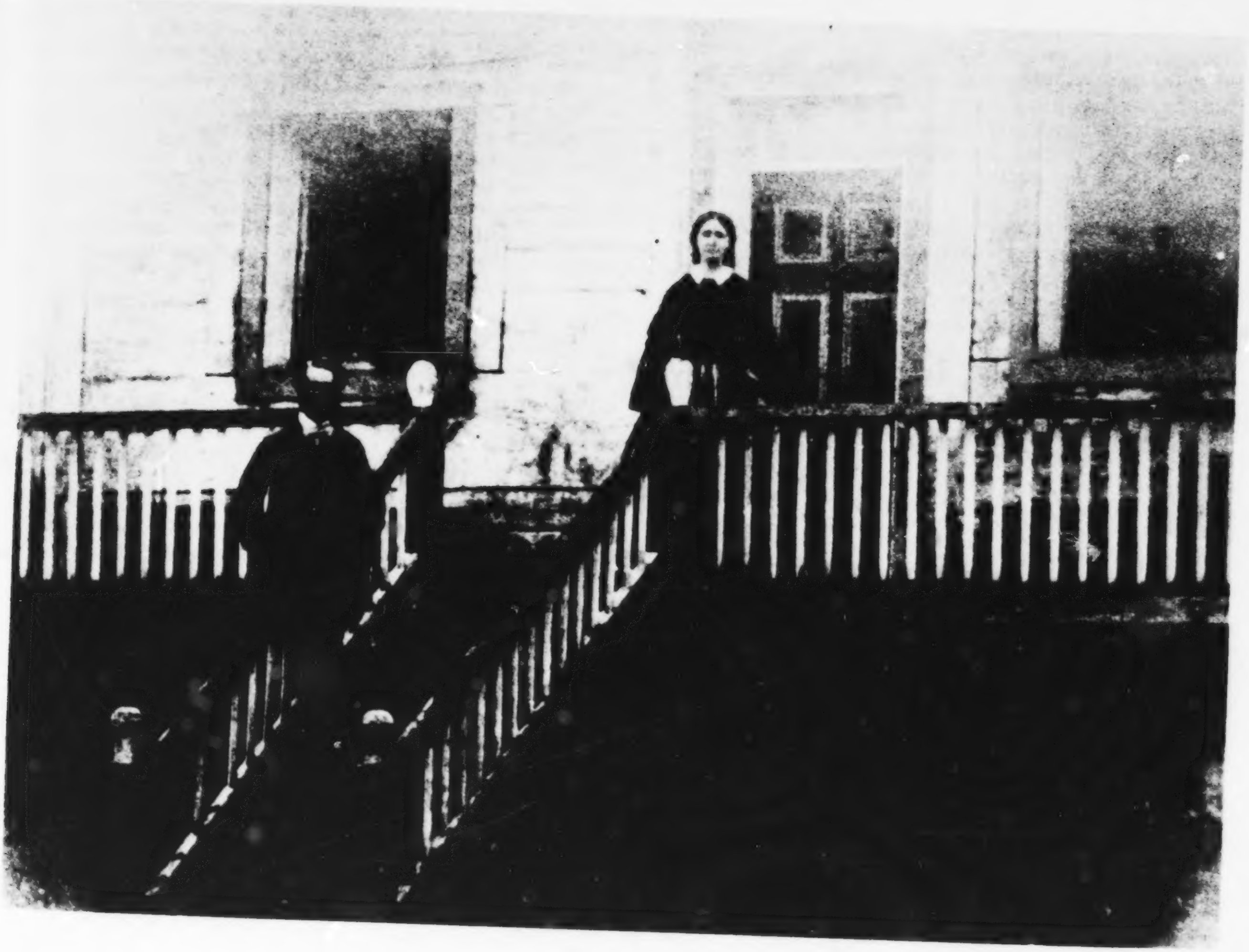


23 William Henry Newton and his wife at the Fort Langley Big House. Newton was clerk in charge of Langley in 1859–60, 1860–64 and 1874–75. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)



The Twilight Years

At the beginning of the 1860s Hudson's Bay Company trade in British Columbia was in a state of transition. The interruption caused by the loss of its exclusive trading licence was aggravated by depression in business generally and uncertainty with respect to Company land claims in the new colony. As reports of gold strikes far up the Fraser spread in 1861, the great Cariboo rush which peaked in 1862 and 1863 introduced new confidence into the British Columbia economy and a plan on the part of the Company to harness its posts in support of a supply system to the mines. This decision and the final settlement of land titles in 1864 were the signal for redevelopment of Langley Farm and reactivation of other commercial enterprises such as salmon packing. Ultimately, however, rising costs of labour and competition from more strategic and larger centres proved too strong and even relocation of the saleshop in the adjacent village did not result in a viable business. For the Hudson's Bay Company at Langley, the birth of British Columbia had ushered in the twilight years.

Following the departure of Yale in May 1859, Fort Langley lapsed into a period of inactivity and mismanagement. W.H. Newton, accountant at the fort, supervised operations until January 1860. He was replaced by Chief Trader George Blenkinsop for seven months and in August 1860 reassumed charge with a reduced staff of seven.[1] The functions of the post were minimal. Blacksmith James Taylor and his assistant R. Bayley continued to make beaver traps, axes and other iron works for the interior brigades. Two men stationed at the Indian fishing station on the Chilliwack salted salmon for home consumption while Cromarty, cooper at Langley since 1846, turned out barrels for Company use and local sale. There was one labourer, Narcisse Falerdeau, and one store clerk, Kenneth Morrison. Operations were simplified by abolishing the Indian shop and admitting native people to trade in the saleshop.[2] An inspection of the place in December 1861 indicated things were only in a "very so so order." Chief Factors Tolmie and McTavish found that Newton had "no knowledge about business or the management of a place like Langley" and that the stores and warehouses were in "a fearful state with dirt and confusion for which there is no excuse."[3]

When rumour abounded in 1858 and 1859 that old Langley might be made capital or the chief commercial town of British Columbia or both, the board of management considered relocating the fort. The Company store seemed poorly situated for business and owing to a gradual silting up of the river channel directly in front of Fort Langley, its wharf had become less accessible to steamers. Chief Factor Dallas proposed removing the saleshop and office dwelling to the site lower down the stream long used by the Company as a point of embarkation for salt salmon. Unfortunately, the land there was disposed of at the government sale of town lots.[4] Clearly a move to any new site would have to be deferred until Company land claims at Langley and other posts in British Columbia were precisely defined.

Langley Farm, rented to C.R. Bedford in March 1859, was repossessed by the Hudson's Bay Company in July 1860 after Bedford failed to produce the annual accounts required by the rental agreement.[5] Most of the existing stock of horses and milk cows were sold off, but the number of beef cattle was augmented in order to supply the brigades while at Fort Hope.[6] Hay was also sent on to Fort Hope for foddering the pack horses of the brigade train.[7] In the summer of 1860 Langley Farm made its first attempt at sheep raising, grazing 400 ewes and wethers for eventual sale, live weight, in various towns on the lower Fraser.[8]

When the rush to the Cariboo mines gathered force in 1861, the Company established an inland transportation service, using Langley as one station for breeding and grazing pack animals. Twenty-two mules purchased from the Hawaiian Islands and sent to Langley in March 1861 were employed during the summer packing provisions between Fort Hope and the junction of the Tulameen and Similkameen rivers (now Princeton); from there the pieces were taken to Kamloops by horses.[9] During the winter of 1861–62 Langley kept more mules for use on the Fort Yale–Lytton trail and also horses for packing from Lytton to Kamloops.[10] With the inauguration of the Cariboo wagon road from Yale to Clinton in the summer of 1863, the Company began to employ wagons for transport some distance from Fort Yale. Langley made oxen yokes for this service and also supplied hay at various road houses.[11]

While Langley Farm supported the Company's brigade and mining transport, development of a full-scale agricultural enterprise was delayed until the Hudson's Bay Company was securely placed in possession of its fort and farm lands by the colonial government. The imperial government had early recognized a moral indebtedness to the Company which might be paid through a generous disposition to land grants,[12] but it was not until October 1861, at a London meeting between Her Majesty's government and the Hudson's Bay Company, that a preliminary settlement of land claims was worked out. According to this agreement the Company was entitled to the following land at Langley:

New Fort Langley

The actual site of the Fort (stated by Mr. Dallas to be about 2 acres) with all surrounding Buildings and Enclosures or actually cultivated or ploughed Lands, but not exceeding in the whole 200 acres, and at Langley Farm (about 1 mile distant from the Fort

> *Site) a quantity of Land not exceeding 500 acres . . . . the Company . . . to have the option of purchasing at 4/2 per acre at Langley Farm (in addition to the 500 acres) any quantity of the surrounding Land which may have been enclosed, cultivated, or ploughed, or sown with grass, not exceeding 1500 acres. This option to cease if not exercised within six Calendar months of notice from the Governor to the Company's agent to select lands.*
> ***Old Langley or Derby***
> *Site of salmon store and wharf; and land adjoining not to exceed 2 acres in all.*[13]

The colonial government surveyed the Langley lands in the fall of 1862 and forwarded tracings to the Company in February 1863.[14] Having experienced legal difficulties with squatters at Langley, the Company requested that its boundaries there be more conspicuously marked than was the usual practice.[15] This was carried out in the spring of 1864[16] and on 12 April 1864 the Company received a crown grant of three lots in group 2 of the official survey for the district of New Westminster. These included lot 19, the new fort site of 200 acres, lot 20, the old fort site of 2 acres and lot 21, 500 acres of Langley Farm south of the fort. On the same day the Company received formal conveyance of lot 22, the remaining 1,500 acres of Langley Farm which it had purchased at 4s. 2d. per acre.[17]

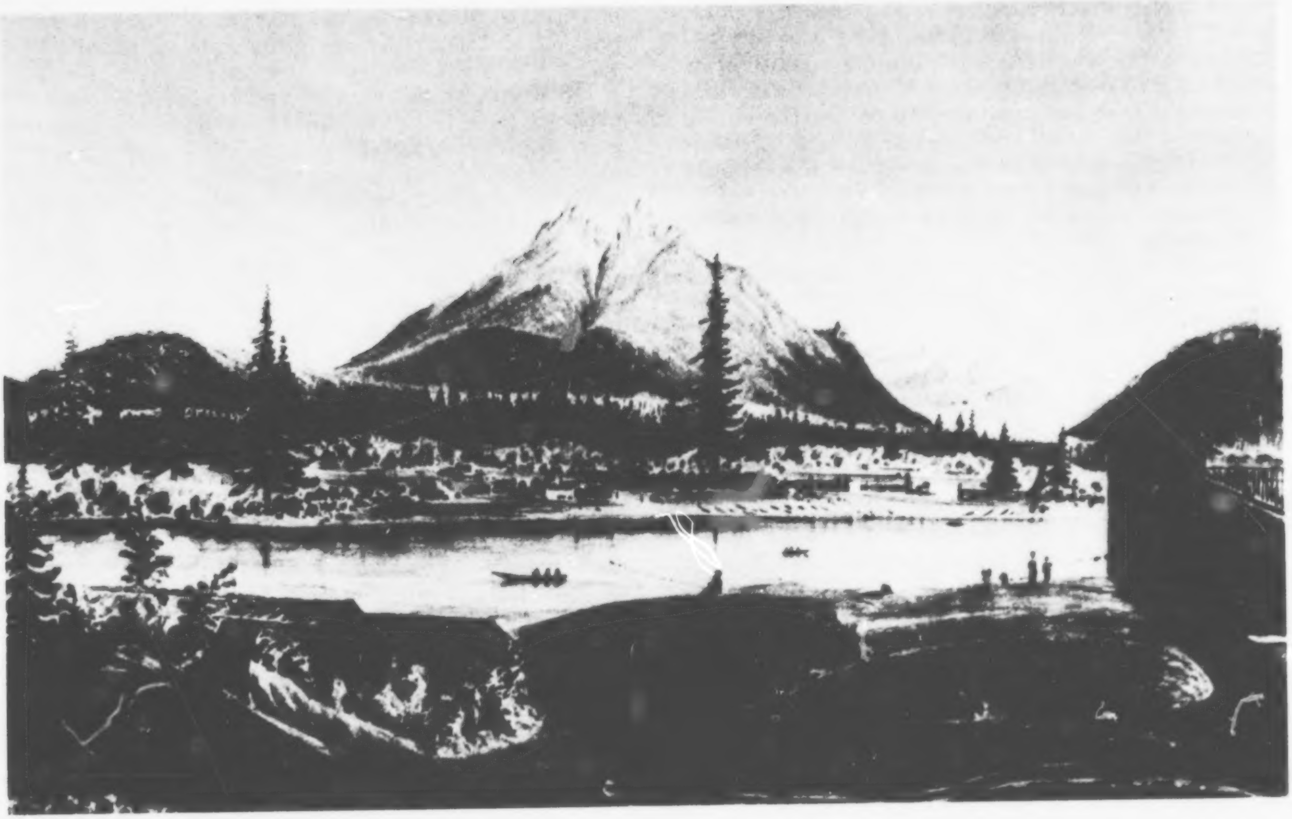
The general management of both fort and Farm was taken over by Ovid Allard in October 1854. Allard had served as Indian trader and interpreter at Fort Langley from 1839 to 1852 and had been lately officer in charge at Fort Yale.[18] His tenure at Langley was marked by efficiency and resourcefulness. He put new life into sales and increased trade in furs, but his most notable contribution was a revival of salmon curing. On Allard's initiative enough salmon was cured at Langley in 1865 to allow a small shipment to the Hawaiian Islands. The net proceeds of $15 a barrel convinced the board of management to continue exportation.[19] Cromarty made the barrels and Allard, competing successfully with other buyers, purchased salmon at ten cents each and delivered the packed fish to Victoria at a cost price of eight dollars per barrel.[20] About 100 barrels were produced for foreign trade annually until the end of the decade when the establishment of commerce and the focus of the fishery at the mouth of the Fraser made the Langley venture unprofitable.[21]

By 1865 the buildings at the fort were fast decaying and much of the old lumber was used to build sheds on the farm.[22] Relocation of the fort, first mooted in 1858–59, was now intimately tied to the larger consideration of steam shipping on the Fraser. Extension of steam service to Forts Hope and Yale during the gold rush had quickly indicated the significance of transportation in determining the centres of commercial prominence. Thus, even after New Westminster had been selected as capital and port of entry, the board of management did not abandon the idea of Langley as an important commercial town. By obtaining control of steam shipping from Victoria to Fort Yale, it proposed to make Langley the connecting point between sea and river steamers.[23] Since 1859 the Hudson's Bay Company steamer *Enterprise*, from Victoria, connected at New Westminster with the two sternwheelers, *Reliance* and *Onward*, owned by Captain Irving. When Irving offered these boats for sale in 1865 the board strongly urged their purchase, not only to prevent the entire traffic from falling into American hands, but also to "have a more controlling commercial position at Hope, Yale and New Westminster" and to "bring Langley into a more important position by arranging that the boats should stop there long enough to allow passenger's to purchase at the Company's store."[24] In the fall Tolmie selected a new site at Langley for a store, dwelling and other necessary buildings.[25] The opportunity to buy Irving's boats, however, was later matched against a government subsidy for steam service from San Francisco to Victoria and a contract to build a steamer for the navigation of Kamloops and Shuswap lakes. The board chose the immediate benefit of transportation in the gold district and selling through steamboat tickets from San Francisco to the Big Bend.[26] Irving was persuaded to continue service on the lower Fraser and Company plans for moving Fort Langley were postponed. Correspondence between Victoria and London in October 1866 suggested that the relocation of Langley post and its future development were still tied to Company control of Fraser River transportation. In a letter to London secretary Thomas Fraser, Tolmie recommended,

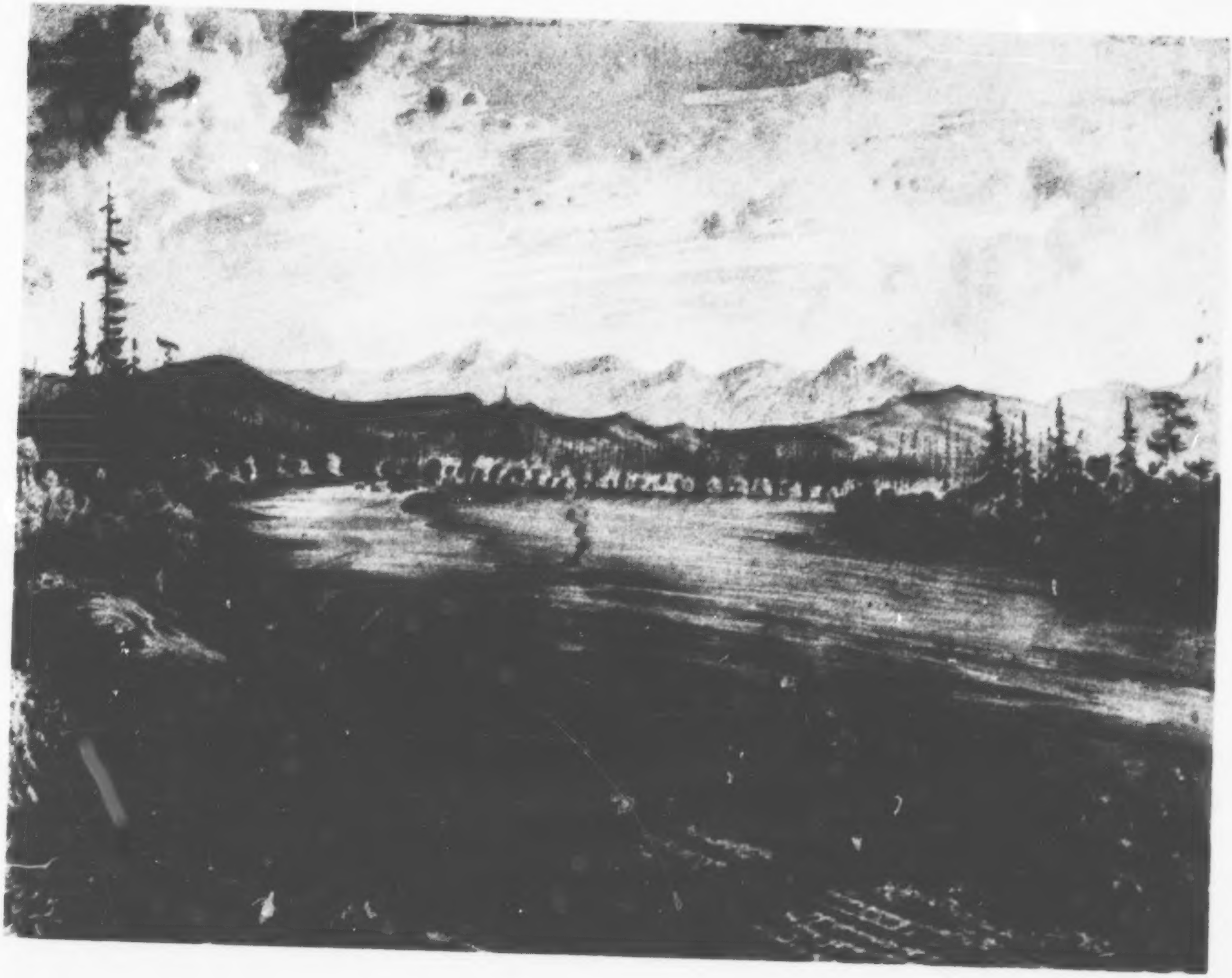
> *it would be adviseable soon to lay off a townsite on the Company's property at Langley, and to sell lots, for which some enquiry has already been made. It must be our endeavour to make Langley the point of meeting, for the exchange of passengers and goods between the Gulf and River steamers. But this can hardly be attempted until the Company own boats on Fraser River.*[27]

Six months later Company purchase of the *Reliance* and *Onward* was again postponed, this time by the insertion of a clause in the Shipping Act authorizing the governor to admit foreign shipping to the coast and up-river trade.[28] The board of management was convinced that the clause was intended chiefly to deter the Company, had it owned Irving's boats, from transferring the forwarding business from New Westminster to Langley.[29] Their conclusion that every endeavour to develop Langley would be impeded by new government measures to protect the interests of New

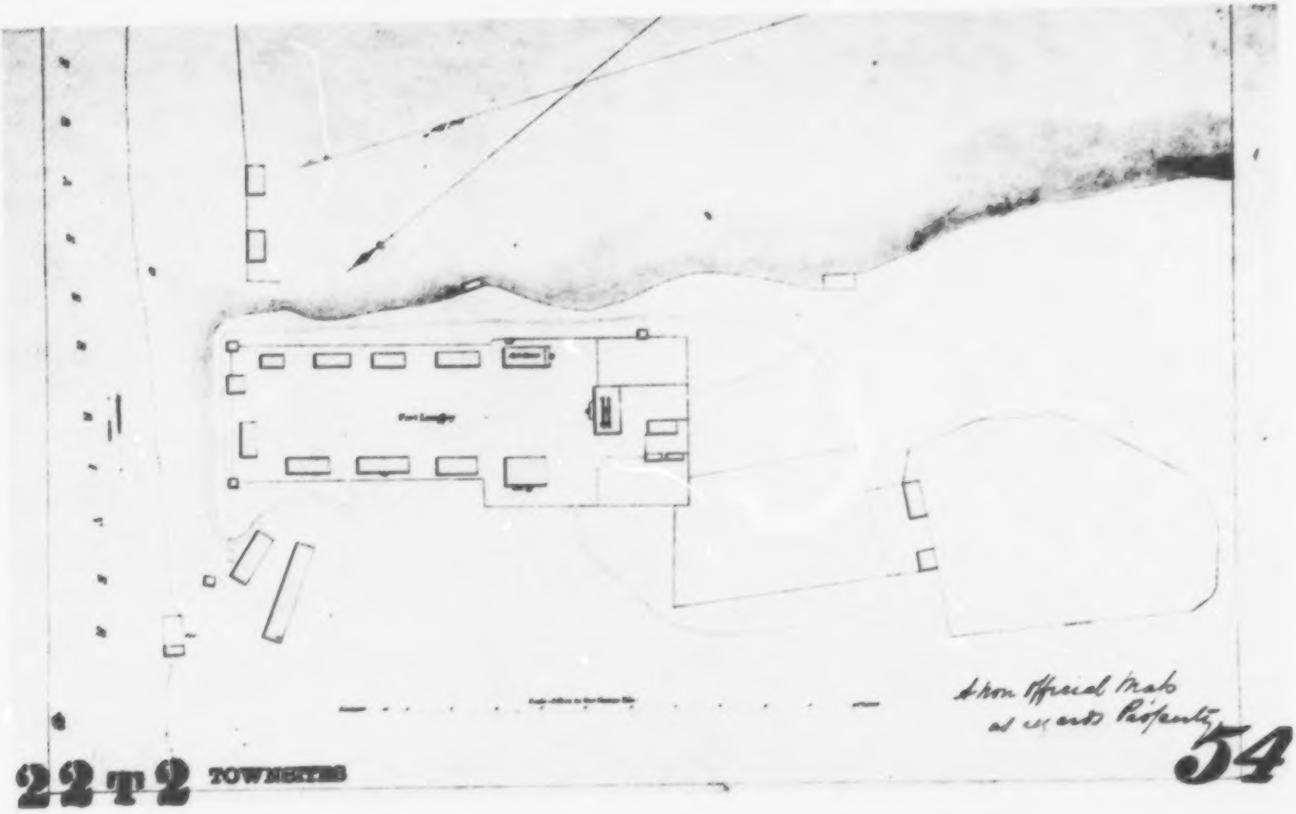
24 Watercolour of the Fraser River drawn from Fort Langley in 1860 by James M. Alden, an American officer serving as a field artist with the British-American Boundary Commission. (*U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C.*)



25 View from Fort Langley downriver, 1860, by James M. Alden. (*U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C.*)



26 The only known plan of Fort Langley, drawn by Sergeant William McColl, RE, 17 September 1862. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)


Fort Langley
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TOWNSITES
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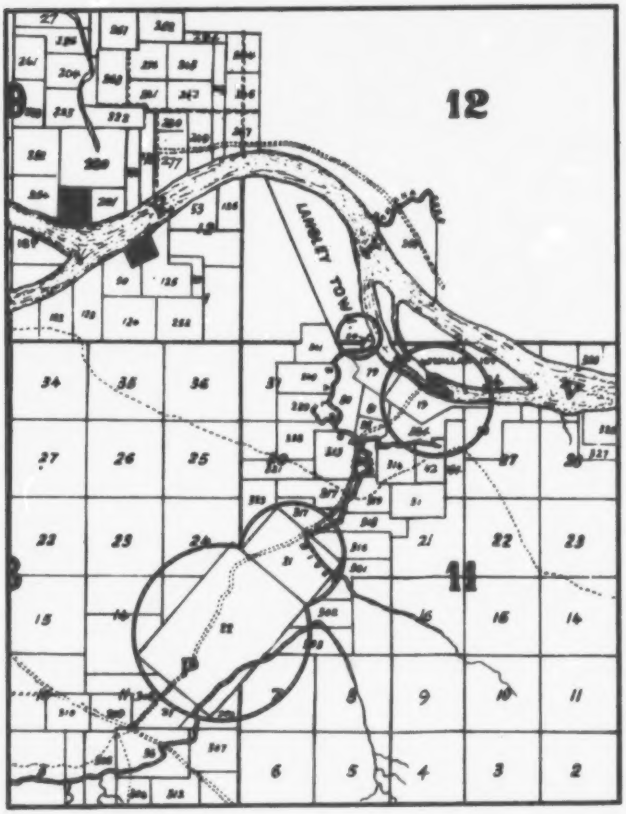
27 Fort Langley, 1862. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)

28 Part of "Map of New Westminster District B.C. 1876," British Columbia Department of Lands and Works, drawn by F.G. Richards. Circled lots 19, 20, 21 and 22 show the Company's lands in oblique relationship to surrounding lots. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)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29 Ovid Allard, chief trader in charge of Fort Langley, 1864–74. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)

Westminster[30] seemed to lead to acceptance of Langley's decline.

Once plans for the commercial improvement of Langley post were shelved, little capital was designated for the renewal of fort buildings. A new roof and chimney were put on the blacksmith's shop in March 1868,[31] but the store was leaky,[32] the cooper's shop was no longer fit for barrelmaking[33] and several other buildings had fallen into disrepair. Allard reported in September 1868 that he was pulling down one of these structures and using the material to build a hay shed at the steamer landing.[34] In October 1871 the blacksmith's shop was made into a dwelling house.[35] The cooper's shop was fixed up as a salesroom in January 1872[36] and by September the historic Big House had been pulled down and a new house built for the manager of Langley post.[37] A drawing of the fort property dated April 1873 records three buildings – the Hudson's Bay Company house (just one year old), the Company stores (the former cooper's shop) and Cromarty's house (probably the converted blacksmith's shop).[38]

The principal activity at Langley post in the late 1860s was farming. By 1867 about 25 tons of oats and over 100 tons of hay were being produced yearly.[39] From this yield Langley supplied Fort Yale with some of the grain and nearly all the hay used for feeding the Company's wagon teams and pack trains when in for loads. It also fed a huge stock of milk and beef cattle and marketed surplus hay and oats in Victoria and New Westminster.[40] In conjunction with the Company's farm at Uplands, Vancouver Island, Langley Farm supplied the steamers *Enterprise* and *Onward* and the Company stations of Hope and Yale with butter, salted beef and pork and a variety of vegetables such as potatoes, onions, cauliflower and peas.[41] All the horses, mules and bullocks employed in the inland transport business (in 1867, 20 yoke of oxen and 16 horses and mules) wintered at Langley and hogs and beef raised there found a ready market among the principal butchers of southern British Columbia.[42]

Despite the wide support which Langley Farm provided for the Company's various operations in the Western Department, an assessment of agriculture at Langley in September 1870 indicated the Company made little or nothing by it. Because of the high rate of wages prevailing in the colony of British Columbia, Langley's substantial returns from hay, cattle, butter and sundry vegetables barely covered its outlay in labourers' wages and provisions. In fact, produce could be purchased more cheaply from California and Oregon than it could be raised locally to supply the shipping and inland transport. Under these circumstances there was "no object in any longer carrying on farming on account of the Fur Trade." Approval was soon given to the board of management's suggestion that farming operations at Langley should be discontinued and the farm advertised for sale or lease.[43]

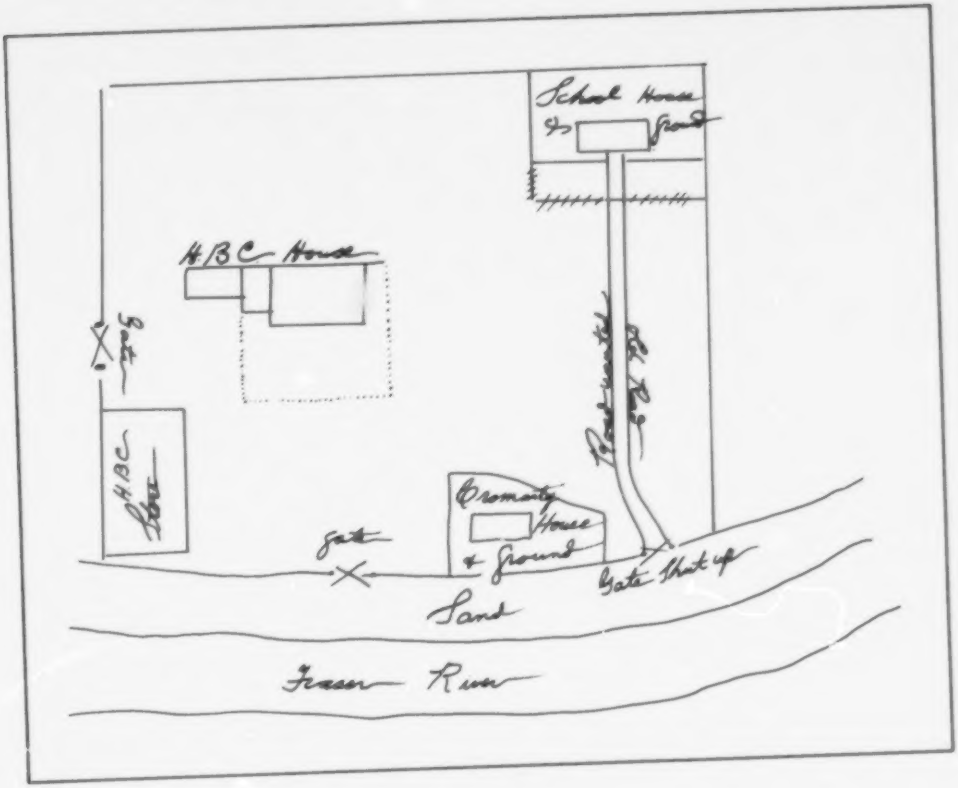
The conclusion of farming activities at Langley commenced in October 1870 when Allard received instructions from Victoria "to reduce the number of hands employed on the farm to the lowest possible number."[44] The Langley stock were advertised for sale in the Mainland Guardian in April 1871.[45] Within three weeks 189 cattle had been sold for $5,636, more than $3,000 above their inventory price.[46] Farm produce was also worked off in large sales throughout the year to Yale, Victoria and Burrard Inlet. By October 1871 agriculture at Langley had been reduced to a 26-acre[47] gardening operation at the fort and the annual report on trade stated, "the farm at this place is now closed."[48]

The Company tried, without success, to lease Langley Farm for five years at about ten per cent per annum on the amount of the improvements.[49] Several parties without means applied for the lease, but they were viewed as unsuitable because they wanted a long lease and low rent, and were unable to give reasonable security that they would not exhaust the land while they occupied it.[50] Until it could obtain better terms, the Company decided to harvest the hay annually and to employ William Harvey at the farm to keep the buildings and fences in repair.[51]

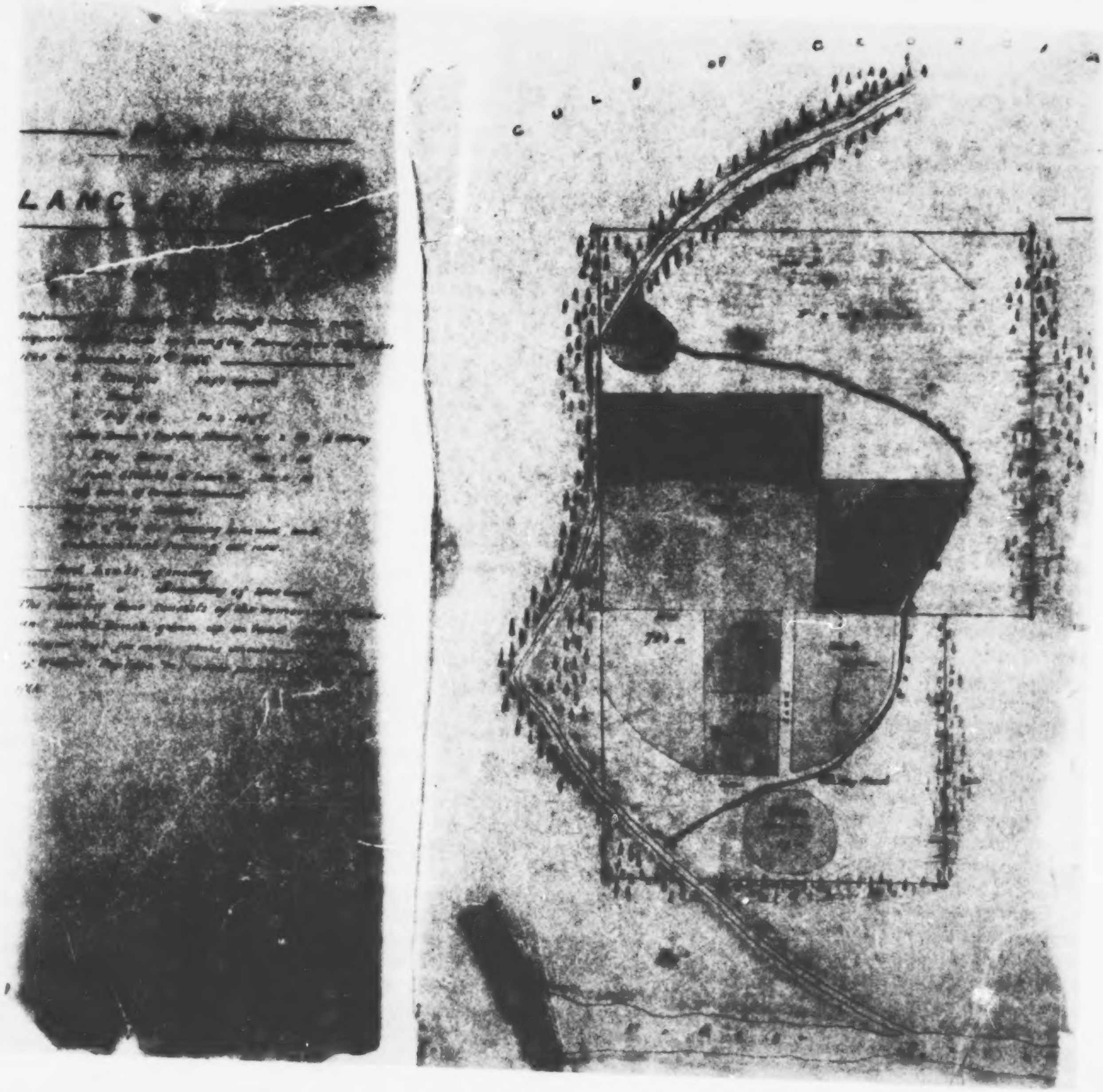
The business of Fort Langley, while partially relieved from the expense of the farm, showed diminishing profits in the early 1870s. The fur trade fell off after 1872 owing to the increase and competition of new buyers[52] and the saleshop business was undermined by merchants in New Westminster, who unlike the Hudson's Bay Company, took farmers' produce in exchange for staples.[53] Some salmon continued to be cured and packed in barrels for the use of Company posts and ships, but by 1874 the export market for barrel fish was almost entirely replaced by Fraser River canned salmon, a growing operating in which several companies were involved.[54] During outfit 1874 trade was set back by the death of Allard, who had guided Langley's destinies for the past decade. W.H. Newton, briefly officer in charge for 1859–60 and 1863–64, succeeded Allard, but died in January 1875.[55] Shortly after Henry Wark, former manager of the farm, took charge of the fort business, opposition to the Company at Langley was set up by a retail dealer and publican supported by New Westminster merchants.[56]

The several difficulties facing trade at Langley and necessity for improvement renewed Company determination to detach the farm from the trade shop connection.[57] It still seemed impractical to work the farm to advantage. The land had not been laid down in grass since 1864, hay was getting inferior and there were no markets for it. Wark reported, "the property is only a common for

30 A ground plan of the remaining buildings at Fort Langley, drawn by Mrs. W.H. Newton, April 1873. (*Hudson's Bay Company Archives.*)


School House & Ground
H B C House
Gate
H B C Store
Road wanted
Ch Res
Cromarty House & Ground
Gate
Gate shut up
Sand
Fraser River

31 An 1866 plan of Langley Farm with a statement of the principal buildings erected and improvements made there from September 1864 to 31 December 1866. (*Hudson's Bay Company Archives.*)


LANG
GULF OF GEORGIA

everybody's cattle and a great eyesore."[58] On 3 November 1876 the London board approved a second effort to lease the farm, expressing "no desire whatever to carry on trade at Fort Langley unless it can be done profitably."[59]

In May 1877 Alexander Munro, the Company's land agent at Victoria, reported difficulty in obtaining a tenant for Langley Farm on satisfactory terms and recommended the sale of the property as bringing a better income than could most likely be obtained as rent. According to Munro, a farm of such dimensions required a large outlay to stock and cultivate it while any farmer possessing the necessary capital and willing to pay a fair rent would not accept the short term of years and uncertain tenure offered by the Company. He had hoped to lease the farm as a recruiting station for cattle bound for the Victoria market, but found that upcountry stockraisers preferred to drive their stock directly to market to realize on it immediately. Considering the growing scarcity of land in the market near Langley and its probably enhanced value should the railway follow the Fraser River, Munro strongly advised selling Langley Farm. He added that the situation of the Company farm in an oblique position relative to the government survey of the surrounding district meant the eventual intersection of Company property by several roads, a costly fencing operation to protect the land and potential taxation by municipal authorities.[60]

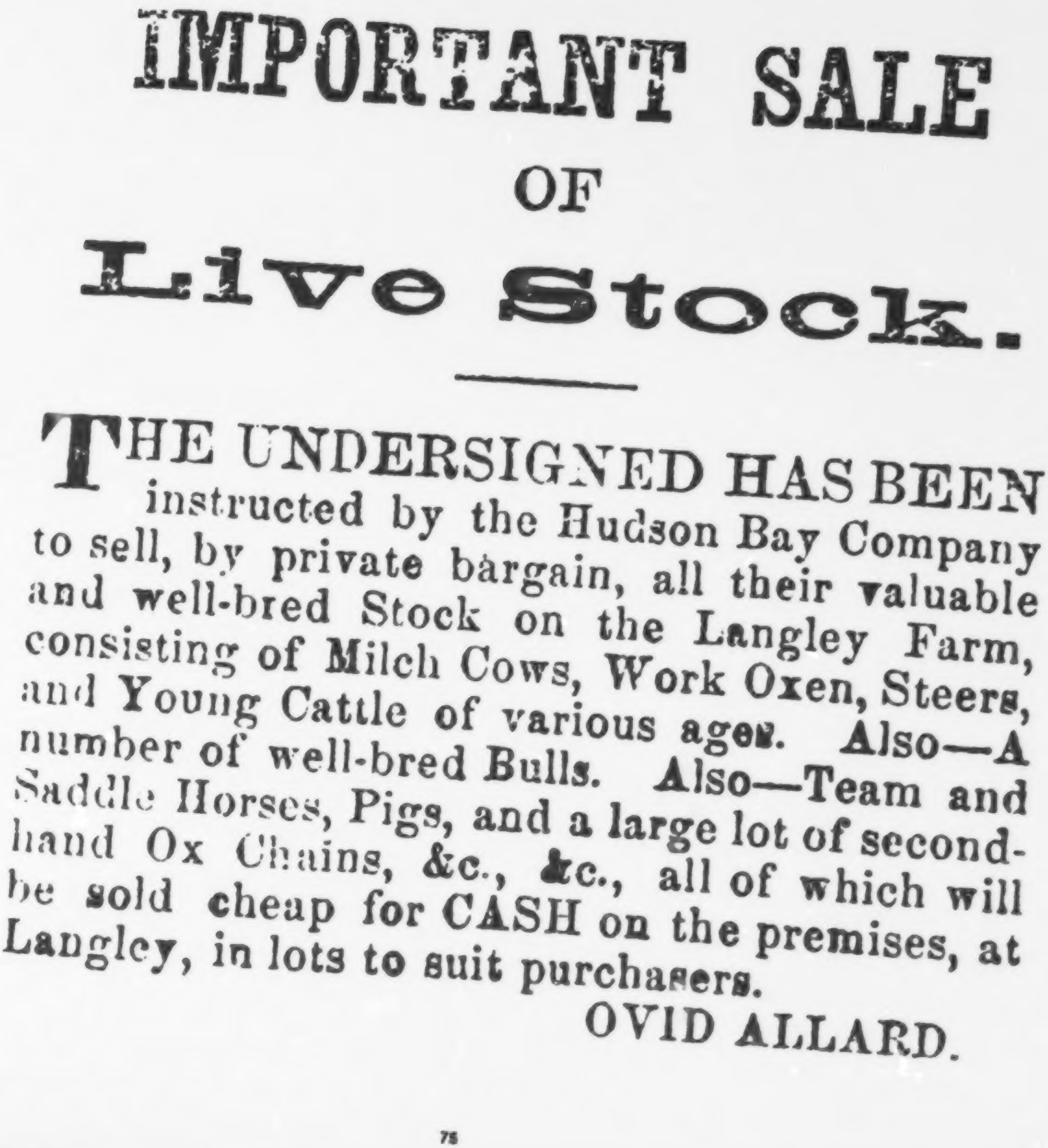
During the summer of 1877 the idea of selling Langley Farm was fully discussed in Winnipeg and London. Company officials, well aware of the tax danger of holding large tracts of land near expanding municipalities, were disposed to sell.[61] At the same time they were anxious to profit by the venture and to get the full benefit to be derived from the proximity of the railway. They issued authority to sell the farm in parts with the proviso that the sale be delayed one season.[62]

Detailed preparations for the sale were made from Victoria in the winter of 1877–78. One of the first tasks was to partition the 2,000-acre farm into equitable and saleable lots. Farm lots 21 and 22 were surveyed and divided into 20 subdivisions of approximately 100 acres each while the crooked road which traversed the farm from end to end was run through the centre in a straight line to give each subdivision road frontage.[63] The general terms of sale were fixed at one-fifth of the purchase money to be paid on signing the agreement and the remainder in four equal annual instalments with seven per cent interest on the unpaid balance.[64] Early in December the public was informed of the intended sale of Langley Farm and invited to visit the property.[65] Sale by auction was chosen as the best means of stimulating competition and rewarding a fair decision to the buyer.[66] The auction, first announced in April, was to be held on 17 June at the Hudson's Bay Company salesrooms, Wharf Street, Victoria.[67]

The sales made at the 1878 auction of Langley Farm were disappointingly small. Although each of the 20 lots was offered and several of them without any upset price being stated, only four lots found purchasers; number 1 at $25 per acre and numbers 6, 7 and 8 at $26 per acre. In his report of the sale, Munro attributed the unsatisfactory result to two principal causes: (1) "that there are so few persons on this coast able and willing to give more than a few dollars per acre for farming land" and (2) that many people soon expected to buy cheap reclaimed land in the Matsqui, Sumas and Chilliwack districts.[68] Even Ottawa's recent announcement of the adoption of the Fraser valley as the railway route was greeted with skepticism and did not materially benefit the sale.[69] The remaining 1,600 acres of Langley Farm were left to be sold by private bargain over the next eight years.

The small retail operation at Fort Langley continued to fight a defensive battle against new competitors in the 1880s. The saleshop, managed with rigid economy and supplemented by sales of hay from the farm, showed a reasonable remuneration of over $1,000 for outfits 1878 to 1880.[70] As the various sections of Langley Farm were sold, however, the proceeds from haying were substantially less. During 1881–82, the returns of the post slumped to $39.67.[71] The improvement of the business to a gain of $1,770.06 for outfit 1883 was largely attributable to customers being steadily employed on railway and other works in the immediate neighbourhood.[72] Unfortunately, this increased activity also brought into existence several other stores in and near Langley which threatened to diminish the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company.[73] The physical arrangements of the "fort" handicapped the Company in competition with these opponents. Formerly the focus of activity on the Fraser, by 1885 the site of Fort Langley lay on the periphery of commerce. Sandbanks had gradually filled the river branch on the fort side of McMillan Island so that ships now anchored about 400 yards short of Langley post.[74] Since the nearest centre of population, the town of Langley, was located west of the steamboat landing, the Company post was "unlikely to command any trade except in such articles as cannot be obtained elsewhere."[75] Its buildings there were old too. The manager's residence had been built by Allard in 1872 while the store had functioned as a cooper's shop long before its conversion to a salesroom in 1871. After a visit to the site in December 1885, Assistant Commissioner Thomas R. Smith reported that the store building was "very old, and unfit to store any but heavy goods in."[76] On Smith's recommendation the Company decided

32 Advertisement for the sale of Langley livestock, Mainland Guardian, New Westminster, B.C., 5 April 1871. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)



IMPORTANT SALE

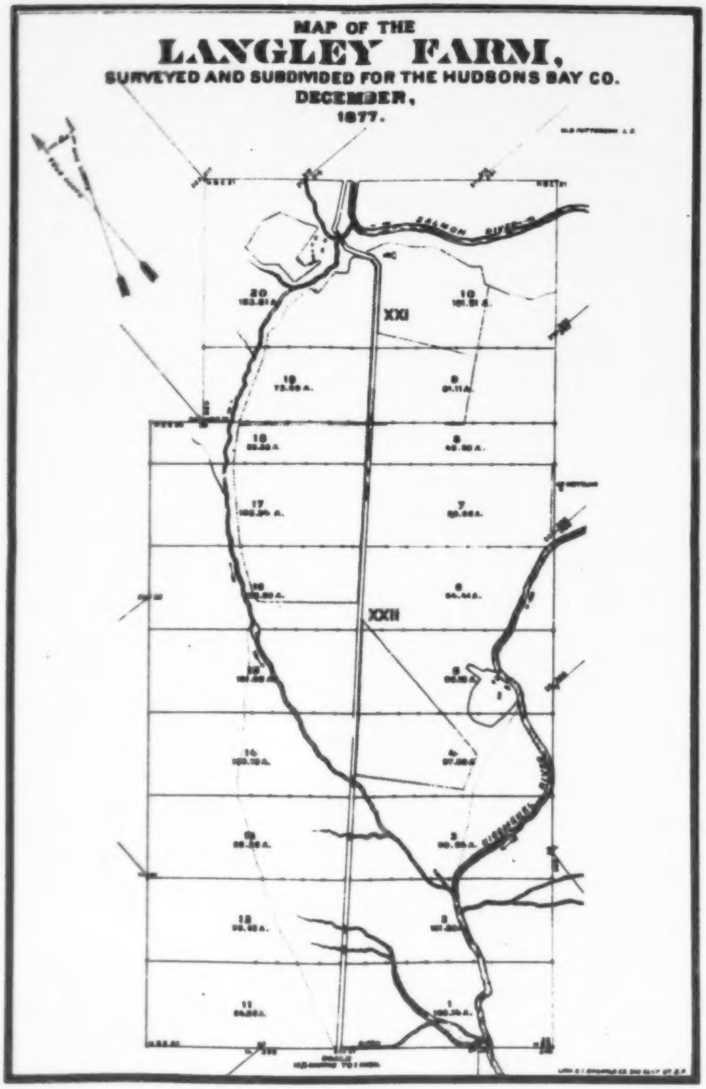
OF

Live Stock.

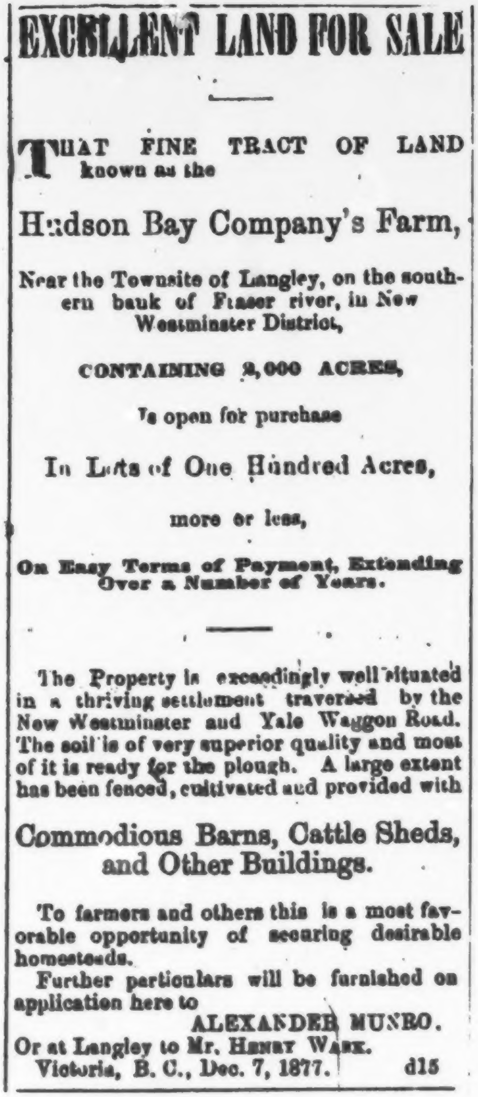
THE UNDERSIGNED HAS BEEN instructed by the Hudson Bay Company to sell, by private bargain, all their valuable and well-bred Stock on the Langley Farm, consisting of Milch Cows, Work Oxen, Steers, and Young Cattle of various ages. Also—A number of well-bred Bulls. Also—Team and Saddle Horses, Pigs, and a large lot of second-hand Ox Chains, &c., &c., all of which will be sold cheap for CASH on the premises, at Langley, in lots to suit purchasers.

OVID ALLARD.

33 Langley Farm as subdivided for purposes of sale. (*Hudson's Bay Company Archives.*)


MAP OF THE
LANGLEY FARM,
SURVEYED AND SUBDIVIDED FOR THE HUDSONS BAY CO.
DECEMBER,
1877.
SALMON RIVER
XXI
XXII
20
10
19
9
18
8
17
7
16
6
15
5
14
4
13
3
12
2
11
1

34 *Mainland Guardian*, 15 December 1877. The first notice of the intended sale of Langley Farm ran in Victoria and New Westminster newspapers from the above date until 1 May 1878 when notice of the auction sale appeared. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)



EXCELLENT LAND FOR SALE

THAT FINE TRACT OF LAND known as the

Hudson Bay Company's Farm,

Near the Townsite of Langley, on the southern bank of Fraser river, in New Westminster District,

CONTAINING 2,000 ACRES,

Is open for purchase

In Lots of One Hundred Acres,

more or less,

On Easy Terms of Payment, Extending Over a Number of Years.

The Property is exceedingly well situated in a thriving settlement traversed by the New Westminster and Yale Waggon Road. The soil is of very superior quality and most of it is ready for the plough. A large extent has been fenced, cultivated and provided with

Commodious Barns, Cattle Sheds, and Other Buildings.

To farmers and others this is a most favorable opportunity of securing desirable homesteads.

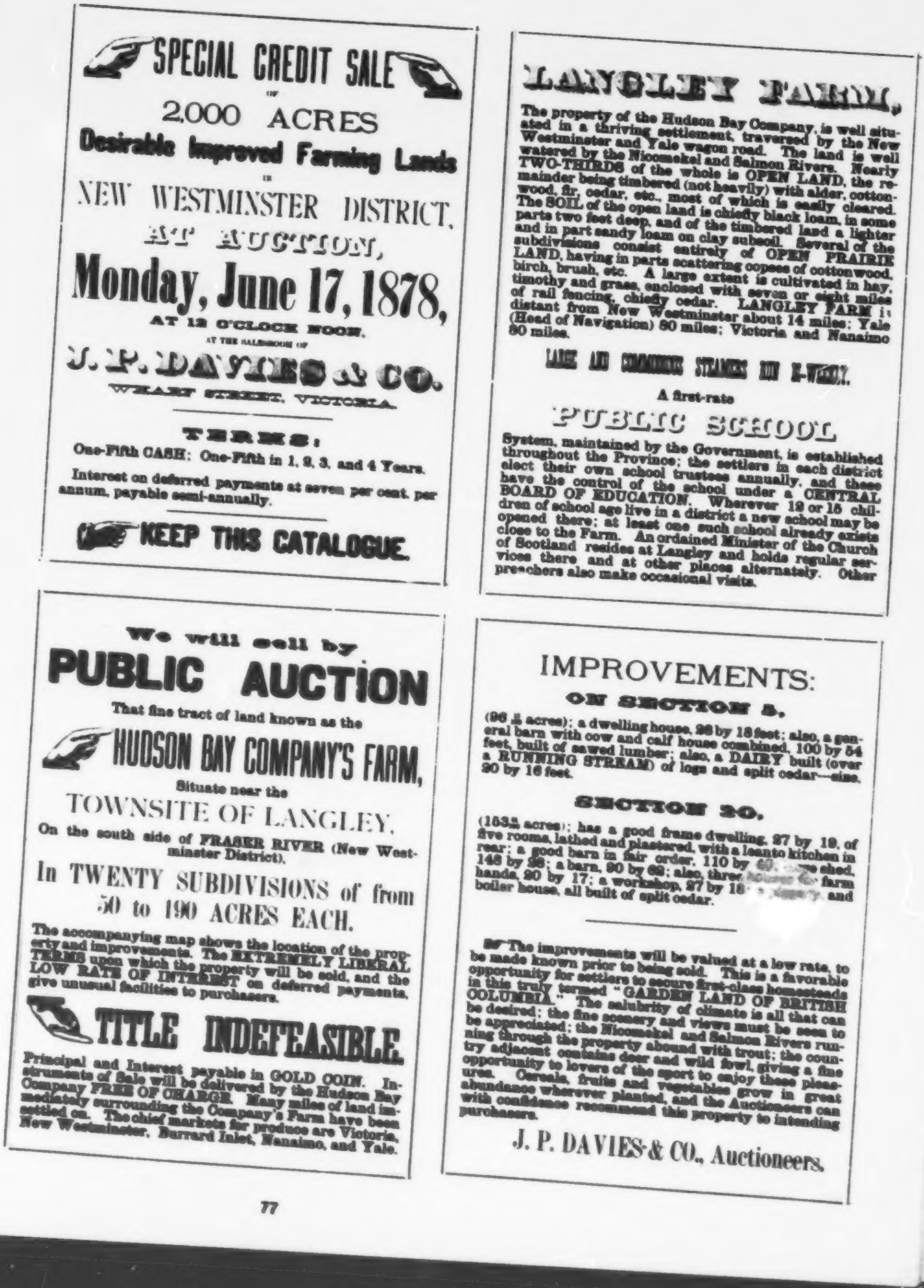
Further particulars will be furnished on application here to

ALEXANDER MUNRO.

Or at Langley to Mr. HENRY WARK.

Victoria, B. C., Dec. 7, 1877. d15

35 A four-page poster put out by the Hudson's Bay Company to advertise the auction sale of Langley Farm on 17 June 1878. (*Hudson's Bay Company Archives.*)



SPECIAL CREDIT SALE

OF

2,000 ACRES

Desirable Improved Farming Lands

IN

NEW WESTMINSTER DISTRICT,

AT AUCTION,

Monday, June 17, 1878,

AT 12 O'CLOCK NOON,

AT THE SALESROOM OF

J. P. DAVIES & CO.

WHARF STREET, VICTORIA.

TERMS:

One-Fifth CASH; One-Fifth in 1, 2, 3, and 4 Years.

Interest on deferred payments at seven per cent. per annum, payable semi-annually.

KEEP THIS CATALOGUE.

LANGLEY FARM,

The property of the Hudson Bay Company, is well situated in a thriving settlement, traversed by the New Westminster and Yale wagon road. The land is well watered by the Nicomekel and Salmon Rivers. Nearly TWO-THIRDS of the whole is OPEN LAND, the remainder being timbered (not heavily) with alder, cottonwood, fir, cedar, etc., most of which is easily cleared. The SOIL of the open land is chiefly black loam, in some parts two feet deep, and of the timbered land a lighter and in part sandy loam on clay subsoil. Several of the subdivisions consist entirely of OPEN PRAIRIE LAND, having in parts scattering copses of cottonwood, birch, brush, etc. A large extent is cultivated in hay, timothy and grass, enclosed with seven or eight miles of rail fencing, chiefly cedar. LANGLEY FARM is distant from New Westminster about 14 miles; Yale (Head of Navigation) 90 miles; Victoria and Nanaimo 80 miles.

LARGE AND COMMODIOUS STEAMERS RUN BI-WEEKLY.

A first-rate

PUBLIC SCHOOL

System, maintained by the Government, is established throughout the Province; the settlers in each district elect their own school trustees annually, and these have the control of the school under a CENTRAL BOARD OF EDUCATION. Wherever 12 or 15 children of school age live in a district a new school may be opened there; at least one such school already exists close to the Farm. An ordained Minister of the Church of Scotland resides at Langley and holds regular services there and at other places alternately. Other preachers also make occasional visits.

We will sell by

PUBLIC AUCTION

That fine tract of land known as the

HUDSON BAY COMPANY'S FARM,

Situate near the

TOWNSITE OF LANGLEY,

On the south side of FRASER RIVER (New Westminster District),

In TWENTY SUBDIVISIONS of from 50 to 190 ACRES EACH.

The accompanying map shows the location of the property and improvements. The EXTREMELY LIBERAL TERMS upon which the property will be sold, and the LOW RATE OF INTEREST on deferred payments, give unusual facilities to purchasers.

TITLE INDEFEASIBLE.

Principal and Interest payable in GOLD COIN. Instruments of Sale will be delivered by the Hudson Bay Company FREE OF CHARGE. Many miles of land immediately surrounding the Company's Farm have been settled on. The chief markets for produce are Victoria, New Westminster, Burrard Inlet, Nanaimo, and Yale.

IMPROVEMENTS:

ON SECTION 5.

(96 [illegible] acres); a dwelling house, 26 by 18 feet; also, a general barn with cow and calf house combined, 100 by 54 feet, built of sawed lumber; also, a DAIRY built (over a RUNNING STREAM) of logs and split cedar—size, 20 by 16 feet.

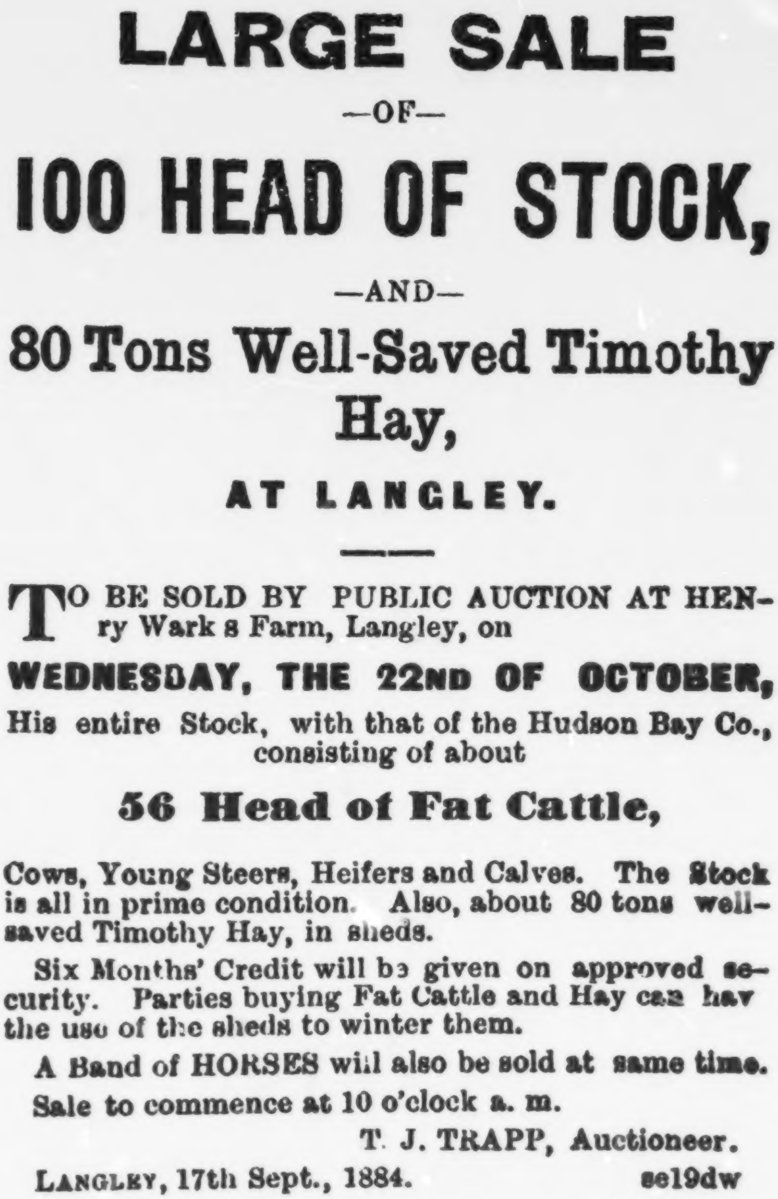
SECTION 20.

(163[illegible] acres); has a good frame dwelling, 27 by 19, of five rooms, lathed and plastered, with a leanto kitchen in rear; a good barn in fair order, 110 by [illegible] shed, 146 by 26; a barn, 90 by 62; also, three [illegible] farm hands, 20 by 17; a workshop, 27 by 18[illegible], and boiler house, all built of split cedar.

☞ The improvements will be valued at a low rate, to be made known prior to being sold. This is a favorable opportunity for settlers to secure first-class homesteads in this truly termed "GARDEN LAND OF BRITISH COLUMBIA." The salubrity of climate is all that can be desired; the fine scenery and views must be seen to be appreciated; the Nicomekel and Salmon Rivers running through the property abound with trout; the country adjacent contains deer and wild fowl, giving a fine opportunity to lovers of the sport to enjoy these pleasures. Cereals, fruits and vegetables grow in great abundance wherever planted, and the Auctioneers can with confidence recommend this property to intending purchasers.

J. P. DAVIES & CO., Auctioneers.

36 Advertisement for the sale of livestock, *The Colonist*, Victoria, B.C. (*Public Archives of Canada.*)



LARGE SALE

—OF—

100 HEAD OF STOCK,

—AND—

80 Tons Well-Saved Timothy Hay,

AT LANGLEY.

TO BE SOLD BY PUBLIC AUCTION AT HENry Wark's Farm, Langley, on

WEDNESDAY, THE 22ND OF OCTOBER,

His entire Stock, with that of the Hudson Bay Co., consisting of about

56 Head of Fat Cattle,

Cows, Young Steers, Heifers and Calves. The Stock is all in prime condition. Also, about 80 tons well-saved Timothy Hay, in sheds.

Six Months' Credit will be given on approved security. Parties buying Fat Cattle and Hay can hav the use of the sheds to winter them.

A Band of HORSES will also be sold at same time.

Sale to commence at 10 o'clock a. m.

T. J. TRAPP, Auctioneer.

LANGLEY, 17th Sept., 1884. se19dw

to quit Fort Langley and to set up new premises in the village near the wharf.

In February 1886 Victoria contractors Smith and Clark began to build the new Hudson's Bay Company store at the far northwest corner of lot 19.[77] The building containing salesroom and manager's quarters was ready for occupation the first week in April.[78] When the removal of stock to the new store was completed on 15 April,[79] the business life of Fort Langley was ended. The fort property (excluding the site of the new store) with the old store building and dwelling house was abandoned to the land department.[80]

Since the 1878 auction of Langley Farm, the land department had sold an aggregate of 1,670 acres of land at Langley. Nearly 1,600 acres of this total were the unsold subdivisions of Langley Farm lots 21 and 22. The last two sections of the farm were purchased on 15 February 1886, completing the sale of the whole tract for a sum of $53,333.17.[81] The Company also sold lot 35, 55 acres preempted by W.F. Tolmie and situated three-quarters of a mile south of the fort; lot 20, two acres located near "Old Langley or Derby" at the mouth of the Salmon River, and a 13-acre section of lot 19 on the northeast corner of the fort property.[82] The only remaining Hudson's Bay Company land at Langley in February 1886 was 187 acres of the 200-acre lot 19.[83] The eventual disposal of Fort Langley site was considered during the spring of 1886. Munro's description of the tract suggested its value was small.

> *No part of the soil is very good. About 30 acres are under cultivation, but the Crops, usually are small – the soil being light and mixed with sand. There are some open spaces, used as grazing ground for the few animals kept at "the Fort". A large part is elevated and gravelly, producing only under brush and stunted timber of no value. The north easterly portion lying low, is frequently overflowed by the river. This and the rest of the land could be turned to the best account only by industrious owners or occupants who would keep cows, pigs and poultry, and make butter, bacon, etc. for sale. In the hands of such people the property, as a whole, with such trading as they could carry on there, might be made fairly remunerative.*
>
> *As stated, the North eastern part of the land is low; but there the river is flowing westward has in the course of time deviated from its former channel and receded northward on "McMillan Island" . . . and thus there intervenes between the present bed and what formerly was the Southern Bank of the river (the Northern boundary of the Company's Land) a barren space or sandspit which is left dry except when overflowed during freshets. It stretches somewhat beyond the Company's western boundary, and the only landing place for steamers is a little westward of the Company's land.*[84]

Given this useless river frontage and the poor quality of the soil, the maximum value which the Company placed on the land was $6,000. It decided to sell the property as a whole for its value.[85] Meanwhile, some sections of lot 19 were leased for pasturage and the dwelling house was rented to Otway Wilkie in October 1887.[86] On 31 January 1888, 185 acres of the Fort Langley property were sold to Alexander Mavis at a purchase price of $5,850. Two acres were reserved for Company use: one acre at the site of the new store, the other 200 yards east on Langley sandspit.[87]

During its first two years of business the new saleshop was an ineffectual contender for the village trade. In 1886 it competed with one opponent who controlled the bulk of the business and subsequently sold out to two energetic young Canadians named Blackett and White. By doing a considerable bartering business with the neighbouring farmers, these men succeeded in building up a trade of approximately $30,000 per annum.[88] In an effort to regain business, the Company prompted the retirement of Henry Wark and brought in the younger William Sinclair to manage Langley post from 1 November 1886. Sinclair made some improvement by reducing the selling price of staples and other articles, but generally was unable to cope with the opposition.[89] He was transferred to New Caledonia District and replaced by the exceedingly smart and energetic clerk James M. Drummond.[90] The new manager took charge of the Langley store in July 1887 with instructions to report to Smith "after full consideration on the spot" what in his opinion was best to be done.[91]

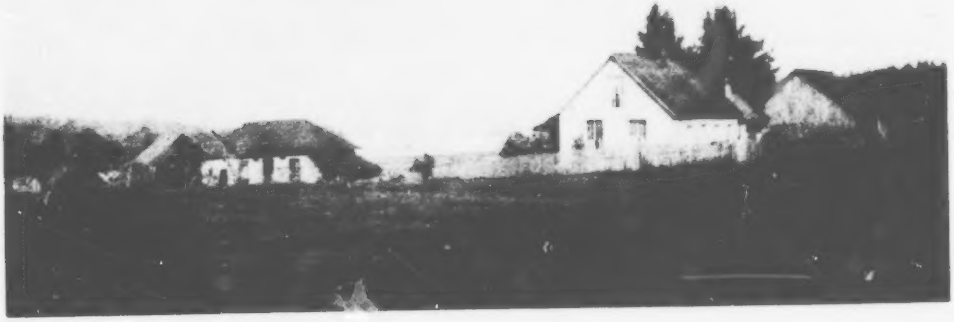
Drummond's report, which was approved by Smith in December 1887, suggested a basic change in the Company's mode of conducting business at Langley. According to its new manager, Langley post could command a trade of $20,000 per annum if it could arrange, like Blackett and White, to take payment in produce instead of money. As a marketing agent, however, the store would need buildings at the wharf for the storage of hay, grain, butter and so on. The Company determined to make this "new departure."[92] In the spring of 1888 a freight house, ice house and drive house were constructed at the wharf and arrangements were made to sell farm produce at Fort Hope.[93]

The barter business rapidly increased the volume of Hudson's Bay trade in Fort Langley village. As early as January 1888 the Company resisted an offer to purchase Blackett and White's business from the conviction that it could obtain all it required through "good management."[94] While the opposition sold off its entire stock at reduced prices, Drummond expanded the Company inventory and sold staples slightly above cost and other goods at a

37 Fort Langley dwelling house (built in 1872) and farm buildings, circa 1890. The farm buildings are the former cooper's shop and saleshop. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)

38 Fort Langley buildings as private farm buildings, 1894. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)

37



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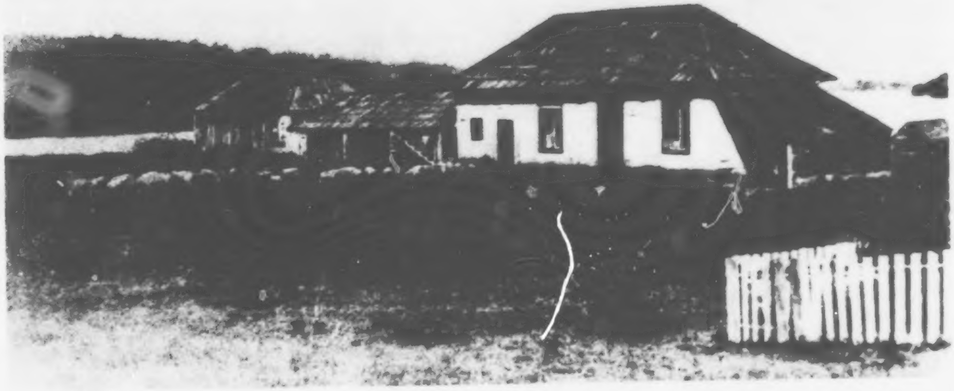
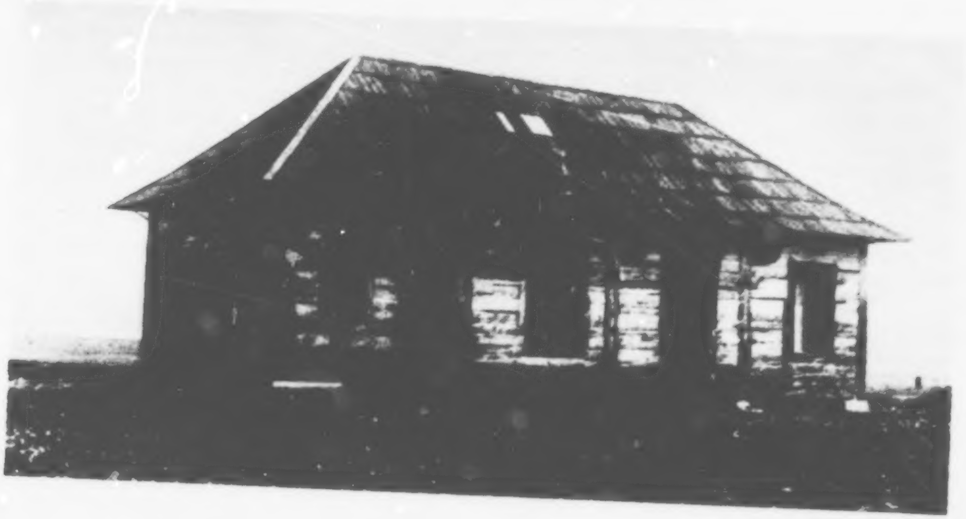


39 The only surviving Fort Langley building, the former cooper's shop, 2 May 1925. It later became the focus of the partial restoration of the fort in 1956. (*Provincial Archives of British Columbia.*)



compensating profit.[95] By June 1889 Langley post was turning over a capital of $11,000 at the rate of 2-1/4 times a year.[96] Yet the greater volume of sales had been achieved at the cost of a smaller net profit.[97] To bring prices up and protect itself from future competition the Company decided to purchase Blackett and White's stock and buildings, and a settlement was effected in February 1890.[98]

Although the absence of competition after February 1890 enabled Langley saleshop to obtain better prices for goods sold,[99] the agricultural character of its trade kept the post in a vulnerable position. Because the district about Langley contained few large farmers and the majority of settlers had no reserve to meet a bad season, the store developed long lists of outstanding balances.[100] In the annual report of trade for outfit 1891, Commissioner R.H. Hall strongly condemned this method of doing business, stating "the hope of our mercantile business is not at petty settlements, but in the more central towns." He suggested "the capita now employed at Langley could be invested with much better results in the city of New Westminster." Credit at the post was henceforth reduced to $100 per person with the stated intention of placing the Company in a position to withdraw from the village "should it be found necessary to do so."[101]

Once a policy of retrenchment had been adopted the days of Langley post were numbered. Drummond opposed the direction affairs were taking and resigned in March 1892.[102] His successor Walter Wilkie was dismissed nine months later for irregularities in keeping the accounts.[103] When Frank Powell took over the position of clerk in January 1893[104] he was instructed to reduce debts to $5,000, but flooding of the Fraser valley in the following year made collection of outstanding accounts slow. The store suffered further from the credit limit of $100 and the prevailing low prices for farm produce.[105] At length, during a visit of the commissioner to London in 1895, it was arranged that Langley saleshop should be closed.[106]

The business of Langley saleshop was wound up for the end of outfit 1895 which fell on 31 May 1896. Goods suitable to other places were transferred and the remainder sold at reduced cost. Forced sales of stock and losses on country produce resulted in a net loss of $5,417, a sum considered "probably less that would have been experienced eventually if the post had been carried on."[107] The Hudson's Bay Company's land at Langley was not retained. The one acre east of the store property was sold to Mrs. Annie Oden in December 1894.[108] The store premises were rented for five years; then the balance of the Hudson's Bay Company property, the one-acre site of the village stores and warehouses, was sold to Jacob and Jessie Haldi in July 1901.[109]

After 69 years of business enterprise at Langley, the Company's evacuation was definitely anti-climactic. A small footnote in the 1896 closing report which seemed a scant tribute to the historical impact of Fort Langley noted, "it is regretted that it does not appear practicable to conduct a remunerative business at this point which is probably the oldest establishment that the Company has in what is now British Columbia."[110]

Appendix A. Report on Fort Langley, 1830, by Archibald McDonald.[1]

The Langley district being perhaps less perfectly known to you than any other Section of the department, without going into an elaborate detail I hope I do not unnecessarily occupy your attention for a few moments in giving you the best Idea, in the Shape of a Report of its situation and other circumstances as I am able to put together.

Boundary. – The district on it being first chalked out was to embrace that considerable tract of Country along the Coast from the South end of Puget Sound to the Northern extremity of the Gulf of Georgia including the Clalam Country and Vancouvers Island. Inland from the first mentioned point it was to divide the trade with the Columbia by a line due East to the head of the Piscahoes river; and another supposed line from the coast in the Chilcoton Country might be said to terminate its limits in that quarter. – In this case the back and Eastern boundary would be circumscribed by the lower part of New Caledonia and the Country from which Thompson's river and Okanakan derive their returns. A superficial glance over this immense space and conceiving its undisturbed possession naturally led to very high expectations in the way of returns; but the present state of the Coast Trade and the extraordinary inducement held out elsewhere to draw the Beaver out of the district, without alluding to the unproductive nature of much of the Country itself, will I presume in some degree account for the disappointment.

Navigable Rivers. – Over the space of Country thus described it is but fair to suppose that a number of Streams exist, none of them however, with the exception of one deserves particular notice as Navigable Rivers; as far up as tide water mark, and while the Country is flat many of them do indicate tolerable size, but soon contract and are lost in the Mountains that are in no instance many leagues from the Sea Shore. This is also the case with the two streams falling into the main river that have already, I believe, gained some distinction: the rivers of Pitt and Harrison, both in the N.W. bank. – The mouth of the former is about six Miles below this, the first reach in it presenting more the Character of a narrow Lake than a running Stream led no doubt to the mistaken idea of its magnitude. – The other to my own certain knowledge comes from a greater distance, and is the same we visited from Thompson's River in Autumn '27 by the name of Lilliwhit.

In its whole course however it is so bound up in perpetual Mountains as to afford but few advantages; we have been as far as the upper end of Harrison's Lake where the obstructed navigation begins, its junction with this river is about 40 miles up and near the same distance below Simpson's Falls [the rapids on the Fraser near Yale].

Of Fraser's River itself I shall say nothing that once interesting subject being now completely set at rest by the Governor's own observations. – However from the part I have had myself on a former occasion to ascertain the practicability of its being navigated, to shew no inconsistency in my information that I hope I may be allowed to refer to the 2nd & 4th Paragraphs of my Report of Sept. 1826 which I presume is exactly in accordance with what Governor Simpson and myself have since experienced; but that I was egregiously misinformed by the Natives as to the real state of the River below the Dalls whence I returned is very certain, although it was always my own conviction that the lowest possible state of the water was requisite to make any head way in those rivers.

Population. The Indian population in this part of the world is very great, and were it not for the continual variance among themselves, especially the Warlike Tribes, would have been extremely dangerous to a handful of whites. Beginning on the South side of De Fucas Straits – rounding the Sound and following the East Shore to the mouth of this river; then ascending it to the point where my return made on this head from Thompson's River in 1826/27in that direction discontinued: from Simpson's Falls keeping the N.W. Bank again to the Sea – Coasting it to about Lat. 50 and then crossing over to the Island and following that shore until we again come to the Sts. the following general Abstract is the attempt we have made to arrive at something near the number of men inhabiting that space. vizt. [Editor's note: the format of the following table has been changed.]

Tribes	No. Men	Names of Chiefs
Halams W. of Sound		
1st division		
Tlalams	200	Stukeenum
Toannois	50	Soukeenum
Squams	60	Awnastum
	310	

E. Shore South of Frasers River

2nd division		
Nisquallies	40	
Pyallups	40	
Sinanamus	50	
Sinnohooms	100	Waskalatcha
Skewhams	50	are inland
Scatchads	90	Neetulum
Soquimmy	50	Inland
Smallons	40	Inland
Sumamy	50	
Whullummy	50	
Ossaaks	40	Interior
Noheums	30	
Nahews	20	
Summcamus	40	
	640	

S.E. bank of river to Falls & from thence both sides to Forks of Thom. R.

3rd division		
Quaitlims	60	Nicameus
Smaise	40	
Tchulwhyooks	60	Koomilus
Pellaults	50	Tchoops
Skam & Swatch	100	Tamulston
Honillaque	90	
Kakumlatch	80	
Whuaquum	70	Kemwoon
Hukesmumns	150	
Teitton	200	Sopitchin
Natchustons	160	
Kullulluctons	170	
Asnons	130	
Harvanos	70	
Specum	110	
Yalluachs	70	
Icquillus	200	
Skochuk	130	
Whee y kum	240	
	2180	

N.W. bank from Falls to Coast

4th division		
Teets	40	
Tchunns	50	within
Squaltes	100	Harrison's R.
Musquams	50	Sianton
Kitchies	20	
	260	

E. shore N. of Fraser's R.

5th division		
Hoomus	90	
Shu-Challs	50	
Squaltes	60	
(Interior)		mix. with the above
Tloohooses	40	
Nonowuss	30	
	270	

Vancouver's Island

6th division		
Tchulhutts	50	Squages &
Nanemoos	100	Pinuns
Cowaitchins	200	Josua
Sanutch	60	Tcheenuk
Tchanmus	40	
Soaks	50	
	500	

4160 Indians tho' a great number would not be considered incredible were the number but better proportioned and it did occur to myself as rather curious that the 50 or 60 miles between the Falls and Forks of Thompson's River [and the Fraser] should accomodate nearly 1/3 of the whole. It is however the fact proved by the repeated examination of the Indians themselves and in particular the last mentioned chief on the 3rd division, who is mostly a resident here & whose acct. of the lower Indians we *knew* to be correct. – When Gov. Simpson & myself came down 2 years ago & when our speed gave them but little time to shew themselves, the number appeared uncommon, & the nature of the river & manner of living account for it. There is a perceptable difference between them and those of the Coast, & altho' they are perhaps fully as fond of property & of pilfering they have not I believe the same savage thirst for taking mans life. The Summcamus are the only Indians that came near us from the 2nd division; but the

Skins of the four last Tribes came thro' the medium of Traders. – of those of the 5th the first Tribe only, and that in the Salmon Season but are no hunters. – Beyond the Nonowuss on one side the Channel & the Tchulhutts on the other are the formidable Yewkaltas that may be about 300 men, but armed and equipped in a superior style. All but the first and two last Tribes on the Island came this way in the summer season. The Tlalums we never see.

Establishment. List of Gentlemen and Men Attached to Fraser's River, with the Capacity and Family of each as follows, vizt.

Name	Capacity	Family Wife	B	G	Remarks
Arch. McDonald	Chief Trader	1	3		In charge
F.N. Annance	Clerk	1	3		attends to the trade & Indians
James M. Yale	Clerk	1			attends to the People & Stores
1. Pierre Charles	Beaver hunter	1			re-engaged
2. Cha. Charpentier	Mid. man		1		Cook
3. Como	Mid. man & sawyer	1			re-engaged 2 yrs.
4. Louis Delonais	Steersman	1			re-engaged reduced to £17 when present contract expires
5. Dominique Farron	mid. man	1			re-engaged 2 yrs.
6. John Kennedy	mid. man	1			re-engaged may in time assist as Interpreter
7. Annawiskum McDonald	Foreman	1			re-engaged & reduced from £22 to £20 when he acts as cooper
8. Louis Ossin	mid. man	1			has a year to serve, recalled his notification
9. Etienne Oniaze	mid. man	1			re-engaged 2 yrs.
10. Pecopeeoh	mid. man & sawyer	1			re-engaged 2 yrs.
11. F. Faniant dit Pritte	mechanic	1			1 unsettled with
12. Simon Plemondo	Foreman	1		2	re-engaged, is a good hand in woods & after Beaver
13. Louis Satakarata	mid. man	1	2	1	re-engaged 2 yrs.
14. Etienne Papin	Blksmith	1			re-engaged 2 yrs. reduced from £25 to £22
15. Pierre Therrin	mid. man	1			re-engaged 2 yrs.

By this List we shew that all our men have taken Women in this quarter – a measure once thought very impolitic nor do I affirm that in this condition they are preferable or perhaps equal to single men – yet I am happy to say that a year's experience does not forebode any frightful evil; besides, as may also be seen above, it has had the effect of reconciling them to the place and of removing the inconvenience and indeed the great uncertainty of being able to get them year after year replaced from the Columbia. – Provision for them they have none, save what they derive from the regular and ample allowance to themselves.

Expenditure of Provisions

Imported	lbs. flour	lbs. rice	gal. molasses	gal. rum	bush. salt
Mess – Three gentlemen including Mr. McDonald's family	915	8	6	4	
Families of Two Clerks	60		3		72
14 Men exclusive of 1 in kitchen	155		1-3/4	11	
Indians (Flour damaged)	275		20	2	
	1405	8	30-3/4	17	72

	Value		
Mess - 3 Gentlemen including McD's Family	17	16	2
Families of 2 Clerks	2	15	9
14 Men exclusive of 1 in kitchen	18	17	10
Indians	6	11	
	£46		9

	lbs. Pork	lbs. Grease	lbs. Elk Meat	lbs. Bear meat	No. Beaver	lbs. Sturgeon	No. fresh Salmon	No. dried Salmon	No. Smoked Salmon	lbs. salted Salmon	No. Trout	No. Swans	No. Geese	No. Cranes	No. Ducks	Gal. Oil
Country Produce																
Mess – 3 Gentlemen including McD's family	50	34	500	200	35	2050	310	380	52	848	18	5	75	4	235	12
Families of 2 Clerks –			235	40		750	230	220	35	350	12		5		40	
14 men exclusive of 1 in kitchen	35		1250	120	59	7350	920	4040	375	6920		12	12	3	33	
Indians																
	85	34	1985	360	94	10150	1360	4640	462	8118	30	17	92	7	308	12

Farm Proceeds	Bush. Barley	Bush. Peas	Bush. Potatoes	Bush. Wheat
	10	20	1500 bu.	25

The Article Flour is the only item under the head of European Provisions that may seem extravagant: nor indeed would we at all have had recourse to anything like the quantity had it not been on hand since the formation of the Establishment and become perfectly unfit for future use. – In time to come even with a hand mill, we shall be able to make Flour enough for ourselves: Indeed the 25 Bushels wheat raised last Season with the hoe would go a great way towards it now. – As for the Country Produce, the real support of the place, I maintain, procured as it is at the very door without encurring any extra expense, that nothing can surpass it in cheapness as will be seen hereafter.

Including the salt, one year's expenditure under this head amounts to	£20. 17. 6
European Provisions, exclusive of the ordinary mess allowance	25. 3. 3
	£46 9

The greater part of the Meat, Beaver and Wild Fowl we killed ourselves. Of the salt & salmon valued in this account more than 3/4 of the whole is now on hand; but the place itself still requires a considerable quantity before the fresh supply arrives. – When this business is regularly entered upon, of course the one Outfit must give credit to the other for such Stock, altho' the Plan no doubt will be to realize all the surplus before the close of the year.

State of Trade. The Beaver Trade at Fraser's River being of course the object to which we all look, I have the satisfaction to inform you that it continues on the increase, altho' in all probability still far short of expectations. – As is elsewhere remarked the returns of Fort Langley must now be considered as the proceeds of a very small portion of the extensive District originally projected. – To the Northward of Barrard's Canal the face of the Country is still more Mountainous than hereabouts and of consequence yields but few returns; the Southern Wing of the district tis true was always acknowledged rich in Beaver, but here the fatal effect of the existing opposition is particularly felt. Of the numerous and large tribes represented in another page and upon whose hunts special reliance was placed in the contemplated trade of Fraser's River, not the face of an Indian have we seen from the Southward of the Ossaak for the last 12 months, nor indeed can it be expected that we will while such liberal terms are held out to them at home. – The American was in the Sound in April and on his 2nd visit in the month of July came within a very short distance of Point Roberts. There however, from the shortness of his stay and from the few furs being previously got in, I am satisfied he did not collect many Skins. This however will not always be the case; for, altho' our Indians are sufficiently fond of our Establishment and of our own indulgent treatment towards them (when they merit no worse) others with a Vessel for any time in or near the Mouth of the River, will always get Beaver from them. – From our old Tariff of 4 or 4-1/2 we came down to 2, 2-1/2 & 3 Skins according to circumstance, but as the Trade elsewhere is carried on, to continue at even the lowest of these Prices will be impossible, to have given way to a greater stretch of liberality last year however was by no means sanctioned by our Outfit. – When we made out our requisition our total ignorance of the Opposition already set up in the Country did not enable us to make that ample allowance to meet it which the nature of the Trade subsequently required, and the deficiency did not happen to be made up at the Depot hence the necessity there was of keeping up the Tariff at the Fort, and our total inability to annoy our rivals in the Sound. – As it is including 50 had from the Cadboro', and with the help of the few Woollens I was able to take across the Cowlitz Portage from the Columbia in the fall, we have now little more than 100 Blankets to go upon, until the arrival of the Summer Outfit from England. – Under all these circumstances, I trust that the result of the year's trade just closed will not appear unsatisfactory, and that with suitable means we shall be able to repeat it. – Here we exhibit a comparative view of the returns of the three years, vizt.

	Beaver	Otters
Outfit 1827/28	940	250
'29	1135	300
'30	1205	378

174.11.7 Prime Cost is the charge thereof including all gratuities.

Improvements suggested. Fort Langley, am aware, has the name of being extravagantly kept up, and perhaps a Clerk and 12 men the number lately proposed is as great a Complement as is generally allowed for the same returns; but if we satisfactorily shew that the surplus three men in addition to the greater security to the Establishment can more than pay their own Wages occasionally, hunting Beaver and other merchantable employment at the Fort, I flatter myself that the propriety of keeping 15 men will appear sufficiently desirable, and especially when it can be done without calling upon Columbia for them. – Hitherto the little Beaver hunt we made here was by mere starts and jumps in dead of winter, when we thought ourselves and the hunters in security; but now that we have acquired a little better knowledge of the country and some confidence in ourselves among the Natives that we are accustomed to see, I think a small Trapping Party regularly employed in this way would pay well: and to effect this purpose with the greatest safety in our power to both parties, would be, towards the middle of October, when the Indians are out of the River, to equip 8 good hands that would coast it to the Southward until they came to the Whullummy or Ossaak River – perhaps 80 miles from here – which as far as we can judge admits of Canoe going for some distance up, and near it source to hunt the Beaver, to return at the end of three months, and afterwards to be employed nearer home as they are at present until the Natives again begin to assemble. – If the Establishment is not curtailed a Gentlemen could be sent with this Party on their first setting out. – So confident are we of something worth while being in that quarter, that last month I sent a Gentleman and six men across Land to see the River and converse with the Natives, whom we know to be industrious, and whose Beaver find their way to the Fort thro' the medium of the Quaitlins. – They are but few in number and wholly at the mercy of the Scatchads on one hand, and of our Indians here on the other. – Of the two I believe ours pay them the best and generally get the Skins: the others however are not to be outdone in times like the present and what they fall short of in property they make up in terror and exemplary punishment and I am sorry to say that they have had recourse to this most oppressive measure in a marked degree not long ago. When I sent Mr. Annance I thought it possible to be able to ascend the River with a Craft, and to fix a small trading house in the back Country ensuing season that might be the means of keeping the bulk of the Skins found among the Scadchats and others from reaching the Coast at all, and this to be done under the protection of the proposed Trapping Party, but our people unable to ascend the River, and the Ossaacks entirely disappearing in consequence of the late trouble from those of the Coast returned rather suddenly; and any thing we now do in this way will altogether depend upon circumstances, and the manner in which the opposition is directed to be carried on in the Sound itself. The returns of this year includes 85 Skins killed by our own people, and placed to their respective credits at the rate of 5/ – per skin; and as such they are estimated on the other side with the General Returns.

Among other returns that could be made from this place, last fall we had 3000 feet of Plank, and 10m. Cedar Shingles ready for Shipment: the latter I should suppose would answer well, but the Boards with mere manual force can hardly be made worth the trouble when Machinery is in competition, should the demand for Timber continue we thought a Saw Mill here also an object of attention, but without exposing ourselves at too great a distance, the improbability of finding a good Seat where wood is in abundance is a great objection. – There is however one strong enducement in this vicinity to make an effort; the occasional Bluffs of American White Pine (Pin Blanc) that is to be met with, & which I believe is no wise common on the W. side of the Rocky Mountains.

With respect to the Salmon, in case our Journal cannot conveniently be consulted with this, the best idea of what is, and might be done in that way, must be devised from the following Statement.

Statement of Salmon Trade.
Fort Langley from 10th to 20 Aug. 1829

Aug.	Salmon	Traded For	
10	37	1 Common Half Axe	81 small axes
11	52	2 Hand Dags	4-1/2 doz. Scalpers
12	145	8-1/2 doz. Roach knives	1/2 doz. Yellow Wood folders
13	654	5-1/2 gross Brass Rings	3-1/3 doz. P.C. Looking Glasses
14	677	1-1/12 Gross M.C. Buttons	1-1/6 gross M. Jacket Buttons
15	1177	1/2 doz. 8 in. flat files	1-1/2 doz. 7 in. files
16	926	125 Large Cod Hooks	50 sm. Kirby Hooks
17	1014	3 lbs. Common Canton Beads	2 pr. Wrist Bands
Before 8 a.m.			
18	640	10 small Chisels F.L.	1-1/2 lb. Vermilion
19	572	1/3 doz. Common Horn Combs	2 doz. Indian awls
20	1150	1 lb. Leaf Tobacco	
24	500	Red Baize & Colton Wire in demand	
	7544	Averages from 5 to 6 lbs. & 90 to a Tierce	£9.7.8 Prime Cost of Trade Goods

In addition to this Statement I have to observe that instead of awaiting the appearance here of the Salmon till the 10th or 15th of August, a good Stock might be procured near the Falls at least fifteen days earlier; as could well be inferred from what our own people saw when on a short trip up that way last July while at the Fort with six men I had the protection of the Cadboro. It may not be amiss also to remark that I think a detached salting camp within a very few miles of the Establishment during the last 20 days of August would succeed well, without being exposed to imminent danger so that by those means we could secure a period of 55 or 60 days instead of 20. – Ample time judging from last years experience to procure 500 Barrels of Salmon. – To conclude with this subject I must inform that we made several atempts ourselves last summer with the Seine & Hand Scoop net but our success by no means proved that we could do without Indian Trade, nor does ever this appear to me a source of great disappointment as in years of scarcity the best regulated fishery of our own would miscarry while in years of plenty such as last the expense in trade would hardly exceed the very cost of Lines and Twine.

State of Establishment

For the nature of all the Business that is likely to be carried on here the Fort is now sufficiently well arranged. To finish the Buildings inside, a good spacious store of 55 feet long and a large Coopers shop are erected both indispensible should anything extensive be undertaken in the way of fish curing. – The man who acted as Carpenter and the only man Unengaged, we have kept at Cooper Work for the last six weeks, assisted by another; but has not produced in that time above 30 of 25 Galls. not too well finished – they are made of the Pin Blanc having no oak or any other hard wood at hand – were two of our men good Coopers so much the better.

As to the farm little can be said of it. All our operations that way being confined to the Hoe the elevated ground near the Fort being already exhausted did not yield us above 25 Bushels Wheat 20 of Peas & 10 of Barley. – The little rich alluvial soil there is would have done better but here again the summer flush did considerable damage and it was only with the help of seed put in the ground first week in July that we were able to secure about 1200 Kegs Potatoes. For the seed of this Spring we have taken other precautions – of Kitchen Garden I can say nothing the seed of last year not coming to hand before middle of July.

Should the Trapping party be disapproved of tis my intention to dispense with one of the Gentlemen; yet, the two would greatly add to our security during the Salmon operations & if it so happens that the contemplated Establishment on north end of Cowlitz Portage is carried on not only could the extra Clerk but a few Hands also have been sent thither anytime after the middle of October & answer all purposes to be here again by the beginning of July.

I have the honor to be with great respect Gentlemen –
Your very obed. Servant
(Signed) Arch. McDonald,
Chief Trader

Appendix B. Reminisences of Fort Langley by Aurelia Manson (Daughter of James Murray Yale).[1]

Jason Allard gives a written account of the finding of the site, and the building of the Fort where his father was Postmaster, that is he had charge of the Indian shop, and the kegs of the fort. Many a time I have heard him calling out the time for the people to go out, and of course all strangers would hurry out.

I used to visit him when he was trading with the natives for their cranberries and hazel nuts.

The blacksmith's shop was a wonderful place for me. The Smith made nails of different sizes, and iron hoops for the kegs, barrels and vats, that were being made by the Cooper, W. Cromarty, with his three or four assisstants [*sic*], getting ready for the salmon run. Ovid Allard did all the trading with the natives for their salmon. He used to stand at the wharf with two or three trunks full of the Indian's favorite stuffs such as vermillion for the women to give themselves rosy cheeks, and Tobacco for the men.

W. Cromarty at the big cauldron, making brine, and ever so many boys, and a man or two, would be running from the wharf withe [*sic*] the salmon, which they piled before the woman of the fort and others who were seated in a circle in the shed where they cut the salmon. No rest for the boys. They had to continue their running, this time with the cut salmon to the men in the big shed where they were salting the salmon. And so they worked all the week, Early in the morning till late at night till the salmon run was over.

All that old Basil, with his three or four assisstants [*sic*] used to do, was to milk the cows, make the butter, and look after the herd in winter. Now and then I used to see the words "Picked from the Langley herd of cattle" in the papers. Someone advertising his cows for sale. The men of the fort, with Indian lads, used to go to Langley prairie to cut the grain which they had sown in the Spring.

Those stirring days are now gone forever. Langley was a fur trading station of the Hudson's Bay Co. so I was not surprised when I heard the Chief Trader J.M. Yale say "Old Langley will again make her five thousand dollars." That was counting the kegs of cranberries, Hazel nuts, butter, Pork, Bacon & Hams, and the kegs of salt Salmon.

When I saw Langley again five or six years afterwards, the stockade and other buildings were cut up for firewood. Mr. Newton was in charge of the place at the time, and J.D. Manson was the clerk. The next year Mr. Newton was promoted to Victoria and Mr. Ovid Allard was put in his place. After his death Mr. Henry Wark was put in charge of old Langley.

Appendix C. Memories of Fort Langley by Jason O. Allard.[1]

Christmas at Fort Langley

I remember well the stories told me in my boyhood days of the celebrations that had taken place every Christmas and New Year at Fort Langley in the early forties and fifties when Fort Langley was then an important post and depot for the interior trading forts and posts of the company.

The officer in charge of the new fort, built after the first had been burned down, and known as the old McMillan Fort (Derby) was James Murray Yale, chief trader. He had under his command French-Canadians, Scotch, Iroquois from Eastern Canada, Sandwich Islanders and the Indians.

All of the employees of the company had quarters inside the fort with the exception of the Indians. The employed were farmers, carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, boatbuilders, hunters, trappers and boatmen. All work started at 6 a.m. and ended at 6 p.m. rain or shine, and as a matter of fact, all were kept at work the year round with a half holiday on Saturdays, which really meant scrubbing quarters. In those days one can hardly realize the amount of work which was performed by these men from year to year and at such small wages, [£]30 to [£]50 per year – without a strike ever being heard of!

Generous Ration of Rum

On ration day (Saturday) at noon the workmen were given a gill of pure rum (gratis). They also were allowed to purchase a pint apiece for the Saturday night spree.

There were bootleggers even in those days amongst the men. Those who did not drink did a flourishing business on Sundays for the sick ones purchased what rum had been saved by the non-drinkers. Fancy shirts, silk handkerchiefs and tobacco were given for the much-needed "smile".

It was the custom in those days to encourage marriages between the employees of the company and native women. Some were married according to the Indian custom, but afterwards, on the arrival of the priests, were remarried. Father Demers, afterwards Bishop of Vancouver Island and B.C. was one of the pioneer missionaries of the Fraser Valley and Vancouver Island. Mr. Yale was very particular about getting the men married into good families amongst the Indians for the protection of the fort.

All work ceased on Christmas Eve. The men were treated to a gill of rum and were then allowed to make purchases for themselves and wives. On Christmas morning all the employees of the fort, dressed in their very best, marched in a body up to Mr. Yale's quarters – it was called the big hall. Mr. Yale usually received them kindly and held a sort of smoker for a couple of hours in which the decanter was passed around freely. When at last they were feeling pretty happy they were told to go to the ration shop, where they were issued ducks, geese, beef, venison, peas and tallow, Sandwich Island molasses and a small allowance of tea were added to the bill of fare. Day and night, the dancing was kept up and there were no fancy dances in those days, the more noise the merrier.

Women Fight in Real Earnest.

In the afternoon of Christmas Day the men's wives were invited to the big hall where they were given two or three "shots" of wine after which their baskets (they were told to bring them) were filled with cookies, cranberries and blueberry jam and ships biscuits. As soon as the women got outside, the fun started as the wine had put the fighting spirit into them.

The women who were married to white men were related to the chiefs and the line was drawn between them and the wives of the Kanakas. The Kanaka women were accused of passing remarks about their white sisters and then from one imaginery insult or slight the fight was on. There was no prancing and sparring. It was run and grab for the hair of the head. A regular tug-of-war ensued. Finally they were separated by their husbands and all was peace and quietness.

It was one continual enjoyment during the week and on New Year's Day there was a repetition of the Christmas treat – without the fights. In the afternoon the Indian chiefs were invited and a smoker was held out in the open and the usual "wee dram" was given to them, after which they were given a whole beef to feast their tribe, together with peas, tallow and molasses.

Christmas at Colville, Wash.

In the late 'sixties when I was a clerk in the Hudson's Bay Company's service at Fort Sheperd, B.C., I was invited by Chief Trader Angus McDonald, the Hudson's Bay officer in charge of Fort Colville, Wash., to spend my Christmas and New Year at the fort, and gladly accepted the invitation.

On Christmas Eve there was adance given to the employees of the company and friends nearby. The big events, however, always took place on Christmas and New Year's Day. Almost the entire settlement of the valley came to pay their respects to Mr. McDonald and accept his hospitality for the occasion. Amongst the guests were farmers and their wives, officers of the U.S. garrison and a few Indian chiefs.

Mr. McDonald's mode of entertaining his guests was probably different to what a great many had been used to, for the hall or mess room was cleared of the furniture and the floor was covered with buffalo robes in the absence of carpet. Every guest had to squat on the floor, tailor fashion, and everyone was happy and contented and pronounced it a grand picnic. Refreshments for the thirsty were served at the office and were of the very best quality.

Present at Katzie Potlatch.

At this late hour of my life I often think of the three Christmas holidays I spent at good old Fort Colville. Those were happy days, but it is sad to think of all those comrades who have passed away.

I was present at a potlatch on a small scale at Katzie, near Hammond, about fifty years ago. It was on a Christmas Eve. There were quite a few Indians present and the gifts consisted principally of food and in return for the food blankets were given.

On these occasions there is considerable speech-making on both sides. I was greatly amused at an old Indian sub chief's speech – "She Ya Kan" by name. He started off as follows:

"Beloved friends and visitors, I am greatly pleased to see you here gathered together. It reminds me of the good old times we used to have before the priests came amongst us and stopped all our fun. What harm was there in our innocent dances? Let me tell you – perhaps at this moment the white men are having their dances, which the priest do not stop."

Appendix D. Table of Fur Returns, Fort Langley, 1827–65.[1]

	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834
Badgers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bears – black	2	2	2	1	32	52	62	45
brown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
grizzly	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Beaver – large	683	823	1277	417	1477	944	2062	873
small	228	303	421	228	517	449	725	585
coating – lbs.	19	3	16	9	20	23	36	23-1/2
Castoreum	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fishers	–	–	–	5	4	7	28	9
Foxes – cross	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
red	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
silver	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Isinglass – lbs.	–	–	–	–	42	86	64	90
Lynxes	–	–	–	27	76	27	8	25
Martens	–	1	–	90	152	307	266	315
Minks	–	–	–	88	820	1170	1537	1546
Muskrats	–	44	25	169	792	572	1596	567
Marmots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Otters – land	269	319	476	151	518	460	716	379
sea – large	–	–	–	3	–	–	2	1
pups	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Panthers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Racoons	–	–	–	–	3	26	56	122
Wolverines	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	3
Wolves	–	–	–	–	3	–	2	–

	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843
Badgers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bears – black	51	79	55	72	71	167	120	83	76
brown	1	3	1	2	9	10	7	9	7
grizzly	–	–	–	–	1	1	3	2	–
Beaver – large	951	823	659	444	803	568	419	520	529
small	413	352	324	183	222	245	173	242	302
coating – lbs.	13	7-1/2	16	6	5-3/4	12	12-1/4	2-3/4	19-1/2
Castoreum	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fishers	14	14	20	20	35	16	18	37	26
Foxes – cross	1	–	1	–	2	3	3	2	1
red	–		2	4	3	5	3	5	6
silver	–	–	–	–	2	–	1	2	–
Isinglass – lbs.	54	14	55-1/2	40	118	291	114	175	383
Lynxes	27	44	64	85	183	423	379	181	69
Martens	243	182	450	516	760	335	184	418	429
Minks	1431	1746	1746	1575	1436	1294	813	939	846
Muskrats	657	970	1024	1787	2900	739	1104	1641	3443
Marmots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Otters – land	302	311	285	248	276	132	229	227	169
sea – large	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
pups	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Panthers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Racoons	178	724	628	811	754	664	712	785	844
Wolverines	2	3	3	3	2	7	6	4	2
Wolves	1	1	–	2	10	14	4	12	10

	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
Badgers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bears – black	123	150	62	109	97	238	75	132
brown	10	12	2	8	4	5	9	10
grizzly	4	2	3	2	1	1	2	2
Beaver – large	428	202	267	195	150	67	36	42
small	161	84	96	118	100	45	24	11
coating – lbs.	4	6-1/4	8	3-3/4	3	1-1/4	–	–
Castoreum	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fishers	26	17	36	39	28	23	5	30
Foxes – cross	1	1	–	1	1	2	–	–
red	3	1	–	3	4	4	1	2
silver	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	–
Isinglass – lbs.	433	403	361	–	–	–	149	292-1/2
Lynxes	66	71	54	44	59	163	204	185
Martens	483	525	1108	785	1054	524	361	551
Minks	684	533	374	559	433	354	170	225
Muskrats	4258	1599	2172	3658	2944	1745	1004	1057
Marmots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Otters – land	165	122	81	107	89	56	41	69
Panthers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Racoons	527	254	210	762	300	649	168	145
Wolverines	5	–	3	1	1	2	–	2
Wolves	4	10	1	3	3	4	2	1

	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1864	1865
Badgers	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Bears – black	93	178	182	277	261	462	51	126
brown	18	11	11	27	47	38	10	24
grizzly	2	2	14	13	9	30	1	1
Beaver – large	69	189	294	801	842	699	170	217
small	54	100	129	99	246	186	50	46
coating – lbs.	–	6-1/2	5-3/4	6	6-1/2	6-1/4	5-1/4	1/2
Castoreum	–	–	–	–	2-3/4	8-1/2	3-1/2	6
Fishers	25	25	38	36	74	66	25	28
Foxes – cross	1	1	4	6	22	17	1	1
red	3	5	4	9	12	13	3	3
silver	–	1	5	4	6	10	1	1
Isinglass – lbs.	382	393	367	602	609-1/2	688-1/2	80	60
Lynxes	103	41	79	87	164	127	21	25
Martens	431	468	1017	1608	1160	1462	143	175
Minks	138	228	251	517	600	963	83	89
Muskrats	2100	5357	2702	3401	4750	5227	1935	863
Marmots	–	–	–	–	14	–	10	1
Otters – land	72	55	78	102	127	141	20	32
Panthers	1	–	–	1	–	2	–	–
Racoons	120	158	270	192	408	601	119	188
Wolverines	4	10	5	14	8	14	2	2
Wolves	1	–	12	4	32	81	2	1
Wool	–	–	–	–	–	–	339	–

Appendix E. Salmon Cured at Fort Langley, 1830-73.[1]

This table is a summary of data from various sources in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. The "Amount Cured" in each year is simply the total for which there is evidence. Since Bills of Lading and Country Transfers sometimes provide the only documentation, the figures in the table often represent *exported* cured salmon, and then even, a part of a possible total. Salmon cured for home consumption is seldom included except for the peak years 1844 to 1854 when correspondence on the subject is more detailed. "No record" means lack of information for a particular year, not necessarily no salmon cured or no market.

Year	*Amount Cured*	*Market*	
1830	200 barrels	[No record.]	
1831	300 barrels	[No record.]	
1832	[No record.]	[No record.]	
1833	220 barrels	220 barrels	Fort Vancouver
	100 half barrels	100 half barrels	Fort Vancouver
1834	30 barrels	30 barrels	Fort Vancouver
	55 half barrels	55 half barrels	Fort Vancouver
	669 pieces dried salmon	669 pieces	Fort Nisqually
1835	605 barrels	605 barrels	Fort Vancouver
	112 half barrels	112 half barrels	Fort Vancouver
	24 tierces	24 tierces	
	5 hogsheads	5 hogsheads	
	600 pieces dried salmon	600 pieces	Fort Simpson
1836	200 barrels	200 barrels	Fort Vancouver
	350 pieces dried salmon	350 pieces	Fort Nisqually
1837	450 barrels	350 barrels	Sandwich Islands
		9 barrels	Steamer *Beaver*
		2 barrels	Fort McLoughlin
		80 barrels	Fort Vancouver
		10 barrels	Fort Nisqually
1838	597 barrels	587 barrels	Fort Vancouver
		10 barrels	Fort Nisqually
1839	400 barrels	135 barrels	Fort Vancouver
		11 barrels	Steamer *Beaver*
		15 barrels	Fort Nisqually
1840	300 barrels	27 barrels	
	1500 pieces dried salmon	1500 pieces	Fort Nisqually
		230 barrels	Fort Vancouver
		22 barrels	Steamer *Beaver*
1841	540 barrels	[No record.]	
1842	[No record.]	Shipment to Sandwich Islands per *Vancouver*; market "glutted."	
1843	[No record.]	Sandwich Island market improving; other markets sought in China and U.S.	
1844	890 barrels	340 barrels	Sandwich Islands
1845	800 barrels	460 barrels	Sandwich Island, sold at $9, $10 per barrel
1846	1600 barrels	1530 barrels	Sandwich Island, sold at $10 per barrel
1847	1385 barrels	Sold at 41/8 per barrel	
1848	1703 barrels	500 barrels	Sandwich Islands
1849	2610 barrels	Price in Sandwich Island raised to $13 per barrel.	
1850	1600 barrels	961 barrels to Sandwich Islands sold at $14–15 per barrel.	
1851	950 barrels	Price in Sandwich Islands $13–14 a barrel.	
1852	1757 barrels	1200 barrels	Sandwich Islands
	150 half barrels	150 half barrels	Sandwich Islands
		Unknown quantity sent to San Francisco.	
1853	2000 barrels	677 barrels	Sandwich Islands
		148 half barrels	Sandwich Islands
1854	2000 barrels	Price in Sandwich Islands falls to $10 per barrel, then to $8; 100 barrels sent to England; 30 barrels to Tahiti.	
1855	[No record.]	450 barrels to Sandwich Islands, sold at $12 per barrel; 60 barrels in July at $14.	

1856	510 barrels	260 barrels to Sandwich Islands in January 1857, sold at $13–14 per bbl.
1857	[No record.]	524 barrels and 150 half barrels to Sandwich Islands sold at $12–14 per barrel.
1858	[No record.]	[No record.]
1859	[No record.]	[No record.]
1860	[No record.]	600 barrels to Sandwich Islands – little demand.
1861	[No record.]	[No record.]
1862	[No record.]	[No record.]
1863	[No record.]	[No record.]
1864	[No record.]	[No record.]
1865	[No record.]	Some salmon sold in Sandwich Islands @ $15 barrel
1866	[No record.]	Some salmon sold in Sandwich Islands @ $13 barrel
1867	57 barrels large salmon 35 barrels small salmon	80 barrels to Sandwich Islands; some sent on trial to Valparaiso
1868	salmon cured turned bad	[No record.]
1869	130 barrels	100 barrels Sandwich Islands
		20 half barrels Sandwich Islands
1870	108 barrels	88 barrels Sandwich Islands
	20 half barrels	20 half barrels Sandwich Islands
1871	5 barrels 5 half barrels	Salted for local use.
1872	[No record.]	[No record.]
1873	[No record.]	No market for Fort Langley salmon.

Appendix F. Cranberry Returns of Fort Langley, 1852-58.[1]

Like the table for Salmon Returns, the one below is a summary of data on Cranberry Returns. Figures for amounts processed are those known and not necessarily real totals for a particular year.

Year	*Amount Processed*	*Market*
1852	[No record.]	[No record.]
1853	[No record.]	Sold at $12 a barrel in San Francisco.
1854	[No record.]	Sold at $12 a barrel in San Francisco.
1855	425 barrels – 24 gal.	490 barrels to San Francisco per *Otter*, sold @ 55¢
	200 barrels – 12 gal.	
	100 barrels – 8 gal.	20 barrels sent to Sandwich Islands. per *Recovery*.
1856	469 barrels – 24 gal.	Total sold in San Francisco @ 35¢ a barrel.
	175 barrels – 12 gal.	
1857	13 barrels – 12 gal.	[No record.]
	180 barrels – 8 gal.	
1858	[No record.]	[No record.]

Appendix G. The Physical Appearance of Fort Langley – A Brief Look.

Fort Langley 1827

The first Fort Langley was located about six leagues above the entrance of the Fraser River on the south bank in "latitude 49-11N and longitude 120-35W."[1] The building party of 25 under the command of McMillan anchored near the fort site at the junction of the Fraser and Salmon rivers on 29 July 1827.[2] From the moment the first stick was cut for Fort Langley on 1 August,[3] faithful entries were made in the post journal reporting the building process. Through these passages, the three-year Fort Langley journal provides us with a good overall picture of an otherwise unphotographed, unsketched complex.

Operations started with the construction of a defensible enclosure which, following Company practice, meant one or more blockhouses or bastions and a palisade. The builders were divided into teams, some men felling timber and burning and clearing away the underwood, others squaring wood, and two men constantly at the pitsaw. Within a week enough timber had been squared for a bastion and some pickets cut for the fort walls. The following week the first bastion was up and covered with cedar bark which was purchased from the Indians. By 20 August most of the wood required for picketing had been cut and hauled to the site and the next morning four men started digging a trench three feet deep for the pickets. A second bastion was finished on 31 August and on 8 September McMillan recorded that "the Picketing of the Fort was Completed, and the Gates hung."[4]

The rectangle enclosed was 40 yds. by 45 yds. To make the 15-ft.-high palisade walls, logs 4 in. to 5 in. thick and 18 ft. in length had been planted in the ground, their edges squared so as to come closer together.[5] The walls contained at least two gates although their precise location or construction is not described. Two "good" bastions formed part of the defence structure, one on the north side and the other at the southeast corner. These were "12 ft. square each, built of 8 inch Logs and having a lower and upper flooring the latter . . . to be occupied by . . . artillery."[6]

It had taken just six weeks to prepare a wall of safety, but more than two years would be spent in building its interior community. The builders adopted the *poteaux-sur-sol* method of construction found at many fur-trade forts. Basically, this form consisted of a timber frame resting on short timber blocks, horizontal logs filling up walls between spaced vertical posts which were mortised into sills and top plates.[7] The necessities of minimal personal comfort rather than business considerations initially dictated building priorities. Until their own quarters were finished, the builders lived in rude bark huts which they shifted as required.[8] During the first year ten buildings were put up and improvements were made in the security arrangements.

Before the schooner *Cadboro*, which had brought the establishing party, was able to leave, it was necessary to build a store for the reception of the trade goods and supplies. This structure was begun on 10 September, raised to its height within four days and "roofed in with an excellent Bark Covering" on 15 September.[9]

During the next month, houses were put up for the "Gentlemen" and staff. A dwelling house for McMillan and his clerk George Barnston was built near the front gate (probably the river or north side of the fort). In another unspecified location a small wintering house was constructed which promised to make a "snug & Comfortable quarters" for some of the men. It was 30 ft. long by 15 ft. broad and was divided into two apartments each provided with a fireplace and two windows. A second and larger wintering house occupying one side of the square had three apartments with a fireplace in each. With the exterior work done on the houses by 13 October, McMillan reported "the Chimneys now only require to be built and a little work done inside, to make them habitable."[10]

During this time salmon traded from the Indians and kept in the storewas found to be mouldy.[11] To prevent this important provision from spoiling, a salmon shed was therefore built where the stock of dried fish was hung. Underneath the shed, which was probably raised off the ground several feet, constant fires were kept lighted to dry the air.[12]

In winter the pace of building slowed. Besides making a mess house and chimneys in the kitchen,[13] the men concentrated on shoring up the defence structure. A 4-ft.-wide gallery was carried round the fort inside the pickets. The gallery was supported by squared posts at various intervals and faced in the bastion corners with thick boards to render it more secure from shot. In these same corners, stairs 16 ft. by 4 ft. led to the gallery. Doors were cut in the upper stories of the bastions to permit entrance for the guard on lookout.[14] For further security the inside of the palisade wall was lined with small pickets to fill any gaps.[15]

Four new buildings were undertaken in the summer of 1828. A house 30 ft. by 20 ft. containing two rooms of 15 ft. by 20 ft. was put up at the west side of the gate. By September a house 20 ft. square and a blacksmith shop was also finished.[16] The most ambitious project, however, was the Big House, the manager's residence at Company forts and the most important building at a post. The sills and six posts of the Big House were laid on 15 May 1828. In five days the walls had been filled up and the roof put on.

The floor was then laid, followed by the building of the cellar. The house had a front and back door and 12 windows although five of these were later filled up.[17] At the end of the summer some exterior and all interior arrangements still remained to be completed.

One year after its commencement Fort Langley contained ten buildings: a store, dwelling house for the gentlemen, wintering house (30 ft. by 15 ft.), wintering house of three apartments, salmon shed, mess house, house (30 ft. by 20 ft.), house (20 ft. square), blacksmith shop and Big House. When McDonald arrived to assume charge of the post in October 1828, he described the principal buildings of this complex in his private journal:

The Fort is 135 feet by 120, with two good bastions, and a gallery of four feet wide all round. A building ______ feet long, of three compartments for the men, a small log house of two compartments, in which the gentlemen themselves now reside, and a store of about ______ feet are now occupied, besides which there are two other buildings, one a good dwelling house, with an excellent cellar and a spacious garret, a couple of well finished chimnies are up, and the whole inside now ready for wainscoting and partitioning, four large windows in front, one in each end, and one with a corresponding door in the back. The other is a low building with only two square rooms and a fire place in each, and a kitchen adjoining made of slab.[18] McDonald's omission in this description of the houses 30 ft. by 20 ft. and 20 ft. square, and the salmon shed, blacksmith shop and mess house is not immediately clear although such structures as a salmon shed and mess house may have been considered so basic as to be assumed.

A month after the arrival of the new officer in charge, the palisade was extended 35 ft. backwards "finding a space of 135 x 120 feet even with the present buildings far too Confined." The southeast bastion was moved to its new position, a gallery and corner platform finished, and a swivel gun mounted thereon. During December picketing was erected to shut up the spaces between the front gate and the corners of the houses.[19]

Work continued in the Big House throughout the winter of 1828–29. Stairs were built to the garret. Extra windows and a blank space behind the chimneys were filled up with logs and a kitchen with outside chimney and oven was constructed adjoining the main structure.[20]

McDonald felt there was need for some inside sanitary facilities. On 3 November 1828 he wrote, "began a place of convenience for the Gentlemen inside the Fort, and Similar accommodation is absolutely necessary for our men on various accounts." "The little House" was finished on 5 November and another later made for the staff. The journal entry for 27 June 1829 indicates the fort also had a bathhouse.[21]

An Indian shop, mechanic's shop, cooper's shop and new store completed McDonald's building program. Although reference is made to the first three structures,[22] no details or description appear in the journal. During June 1829 wood was squared for a 53-ft. store requiring an estimated 240 pieces. The wall plate was put on in December and in June 1830 the store was covered with shingles which had been originally intended for export.[23] The completion of the fort was announced in McDonald's report to the governor and council, 25 February 1830, which stated,

For the nature of all the Business that is likely to be carried on here the Fort is now sufficiently well arranged. To finish the Buildings inside, a good spacious Store of 55 feet long and a large Coopers Shop are erected, both indispensible should any thing extensive be undertaken in the way of fish curing.[24]

From 1833 to 1836 when the abandonment of Fort Langley was being considered, it might be assumed that few additions and minimal repairs were made in structure. As the post became of growing importance to the provisioning of coastal vessels and forts, Company attention focused on its "delapitated" state and inconvenient situation for both the fishery and farm.[25] By 1839 a decision was made to build a new Fort Langley "a few miles higher up on the banks of Fraser's River."[26]

Fort Langley 1839

The 1839 site, 2-1/2 miles upstream from the original fort, was chosen since it was "fully as convenient for the fur and Salmon trade, as the former site and, moreover, possesses the important and desirable advantage of being much nearer the farm."[27]

Work started on the new fort in the spring of 1839. As had been the procedure for the 1827 fort, the palisading and bastions were built first to form a protected square and a store was made to receive the goods. After moving from the old place was completed on 25 June, construction continued until October when Douglas reported "the stockades . . . , four block houses, and nearly all the necessary buildings are now erected."[28]

Virtually nothing is recorded of the number of buildings or physical dimensions of this fort. From its completion in October the establishment lasted barely six months. During the night of 11 April 1840 Fort Langley was totally destroyed by a fire which broke out in its forge. Yale described the conflagration in a letter to McLoughlin, dated 15 April 1850.

The fire burst forth from the Blacksmiths shop, and the wind blowing fresh from that quarter, the whole range of buildings on that side were in flames in less than two minutes after the fire was observed, but we still for a moment hoped to save the Big House, and a effort was made to that effect, but alas in vain.[29]

Two weeks after the fire, Douglas visited the ruins and wrote, "the work of destruction has been fearfully complete extending to every part of the premises of which a few blackened stumps alone remain."[30]

Fort Langley 1840

By 1 May 1840 Yale had erected on or near the ruins of the 1839 fort a temporary stockade for a new fort which enclosed a space of 108 ft. by 70 ft.[31] This was the beginning of the Fort Langley complex which became an important focus of Company trade on the lower mainland of British Columbia for 46 years. Nearly 120 years after its creation this fort became the subject of a partial restoration by the governments of Canada and British Columbia.[32]

Unfortunately, historical documentation on the physical appearance of the 1840 fort is scattered and scanty. Unlike the 1827 fort, there is no post journal extant for the building period. Similarities in construction can be expected, however, since local building materials remained unchanged and many of the same personnel built all three forts.[33] From correspondence, plans, sketches and photos we gain some idea of the constituent elements and building fabric of this complex, if little of interior layouts and furnishings.

During his visit to the Pacific in 1841, Simpson noted that the 1840 post had been built on a "larger scale" than the other two.[34] The single plan of the fort which has been discovered, a scaled drawing by Royal Engineer Sergeant McColl dated 17 September 1862, reveals the final enclosed area of the 1840 fort measured 250 ft. by 675 ft. (Fig. 26). The rectangular palisade was constructed of logs which stood about 15 ft. high and were 12 in. in diameter (much thicker than the 4 in. to 5 in. pickets of McMillan's fort).[35] These were held in place by a single horizontal girth in the internal face about 3 ft. from the top (Fig. 19).

Set into the palisade were three sets of gates (Fig. 26). One centrally placed in the southern wall directly behind the Big House provided access from the hinterland. The remaining two were situated on the western side: one of these, located 165 ft. from the southwest corner, led to a small barnyard and 40-acre garden adjacent to the fort; the other gate, located approximately 2-1/3 chains or 143 ft. from the bastion at the northwest corner of the palisade, was the main entrance to the fort from the pier on the banks of the Fraser.

Malladaine's north view of the fort from the Fraser (Fig. 22) shows the gate to be level with the height of the palisade. Its width is difficult to ascertain. The gate seems to be divided into two parts which swing inward about 3 ft. from the top of the palisade, probably just beneath the horizontal girth. This would make the actual entranceway 11 ft. to 12 ft. high.

In addition to the gates there were also three bastions set into the walls. These were located at the northeast and northwest corners and in the east wall about 55 ft. from the southeast corner (Fig. 26). Several sketches (Figs. 22, 24) and a photograph (Fig. 27) of the northwest bastion clearly show the exterior appearance of this structure. Each bastion, resting directly on the ground, was about l4 ft. square and about 18 ft. high to the top of the plate. An ornamental timber finial about 4 ft. high adorned its bark roof. The position of the ports suggests a two-storey structure as was the case in the 1827 fort. A sketch of the southeast bastion from the interior of the fort (Fig. 19) shows a window but no entrance door, suggesting approach may have been made by a ladder. There is no evidence of the elaborate gallery and corner platform arrangements of the 1827 fort at this post. Inventories record that the bastion carried a 9-pounder carronade, a swivel and some smaller pieces such as muskets, bayonets and blunderbusses.[36]

Within this palisade there were probably from 12 to 15 buildings at any one time. Here, as at other Company posts, building was an ongoing process, structures being altered or added in response to the changing needs of the service and its families. McColl's plan (Fig. 26) shows the buildings situated in a rectangle facing an open square: the officers' quarters at the south, five buildings on its east running northward, two buildings parallel to the north palisade and four along the west wall. There were also three buildings behind and to the side of the officers' quarters.

Architecturally, these buildings were simple and utilitarian in design, presenting an almost stark aspect to the unaccustomed eyes of a young British officer who in 1858 described the fort as "a miserable old place." A Prince Edward Islander wrote home that its buildings were "strongly built of logs, the roofs of which are covered with bark." Construction appears to have followed the post-on-sill style used in the 1827 fort and common to other Company posts. After a horizontal timber or sill was laid on short blocks, vertical posts at the corners and at 6-ft. to 10-ft. intervals were mortised into the sills and top plates, and the walls filled up with horizontal members fitted into the grooves in the posts. Pictoral evidence indicates that the roofs, either gabled or hipped,were covered with bark although shingles may have been used in some instances. With the exception of the Big House which one photo (Fig. 23) shows as whitewashed, the buildings were unpainted, giving a warehouse appearance to the whole complex which emphasized its essentially commercial function.

At its height in the 1850s Fort Langley contained a Big House, kitchen(s?), saleshop, Indian shop, blacksmith's shop, boatbuilder's shop, cooper's shop, dwelling houses for the men and their families, and various storage houses. McColl's plan unfortunately identifies just two buildings although some comfort can be gained from the knowledge that building function and location frequently changed. Historical documentation enables us to establish with exactness the location of five buildings in specific years. These buildings and their known or documented features are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The Big House

Variously known as the "Manager's Residence" and the "Hall," the Big House was situated by itself in the centre of the south side of the fort (Figs. 19, 26). This location at the back of the fort on an upward incline from the river provided a view of the river and McMillan Island directly in front of the fort. Visitors, usually entering by the northwest gate, walked the length of the fort square before reaching the Big House. Lieutenant Charles Wilson notes this practice in his private diary for 23 June 1859 which states, "As I was smoking my pipe after breakfast, who should come up the fort square but the Governor [James Douglas] & Good [his secretary]."[37]

Malladaine's 1858 sketch of the Big House records a two-storey hipped structure of about 70 ft. by 33 ft. and 21 ft. high. In the front elevation there were I2 windows, 6 in each storey, located centrally in 6 equal bays between 7 vertical posts. The main entrance was placed about 4 ft. above ground slightly to the right of the fourth or middle vertical post. In an 1862 photograph (Fig. 23) of W.H. Newton and his wife in front of the Big House, a veranda has been added. This photo provides a good close-up of double-style windows set back from a foot-wide window sill, side-hung and opening inward. Although no chimneys are shown on these sketches, it is probable this Big House had a "couple of well finished chimnies" similar to those that heated the same house in the 1827 fort.

During the 1850s Langley Big House would have housed manager Yale and one or more of his daughters as well as the clerk assistant and his family. This would require an office, private sitting room and sleeping accommodation for each family. A central hall, an important feature of most Big Houses, served as the dining place for the officers and scene of various fort ceremonies. Here the annual ball for the brigade was held and, on New Year's Day, the men came to pay their respects to the officer in charge and receive a tot of rum. Here, too, about 100 people convened on 19 November 1858 to witness the proclamation of the crown colony of British Columbia.[38]

The Saleshop

This structure labelled the "Salesroom" in McColl's plan was on the east side of the fort northeast of the Big House. It is undoubtedly the structure shown in Malladaine's 1858 drawing of the fort interior (Fig. 19) for an article on Fort Langley in *Harper's Weekly*, 9 October 1858, states the salesroom was "in the loft next to the northeastward of the Chief Trader's residence."[39] At the height of the gold rush this saleshop was considered too small and inconvenient for business and a contractor was sent to Langley to fit up a new saleshop in the building on the northwest side of the Big House. Although the new saleshop was finished, it was never used for the purpose, hence the 1862 label on the east side building.[40]

Like the Big House, the saleshop building was a two-storey, hipped roof structure about the same height with five bays across the main elevation. Nine front windows are shown in the Malladaine sketch (Fig. 19), five in the upper storey and four in the lower. An arched doorway was cut front centre in the middle bay. The south side of the building which is also shown has no windows but a door several feet off the ground. This may have been the entrance to the second floor saleshop although the 1862 plan (Fig. 26) only indicates a door on the north side. The garret saleshop was probably similar to the new saleshop whose specifications suggest a large central counter and walls lined with stalls, gun racks and shelves to the ceiling or, in this case, the roof.[41] The ground floor of this building may have housed a baling room for sorting goods, packing servants orders and other purposes.

The Cooper's Shop

The cooper's shop, where barrels and kegs were turned out for the salmon and cranberry trades, was located on the north side of the fort in 1852. In a letter of that year dated 25 May, Douglas reported "a fire . . . broke out in the Cooper's shop which was burnt to the ground with another small building and a part of the stockade on the north side of the Fort."[42] It appears that the cooper's shop was later resituated on the east side. Correspondence of January 1872 states that "Cromarty is fixing the Cooper shop for a Sale Shop and a roof has already been put on."[43] This cooper's shop converted to a saleshop is shown on the east side in an 1873 ground plan (Fig. 31) of the remaining buildings at Fort Langley. Pictures of the store after the Company moved off the site in 1886 (Fig. 37) indicate the building was subsequently used as a dwelling and barn. The building survived into the 20th century, becoming a museum in the 1920s and the focus of the partial restoration of the fort in the 1950s.

This unique living example of a Hudson's Bay Company building at Fort Langley shows the one-time dimensions of the cooper's shop to be about 52 ft. long and 23 ft. deep (Fig. 39). The front face divided into four bays by vertical posts has two main windows and one small window on ground level, with three smaller windows serving the upper floor. One window exists on the north elevation. Besides the addition of a new roof to this building when it was made into a store, it is highly probable that other changes were made in the exterior face from the time it served as a cooper's shop. The interior, of course, would have been vastly altered.

Residence

The residence for accommodation of visitors and the officers of the brigades was located to the northwest side of the Big House. Instructions to Yale to have this house fitted up as a saleshop in April 1858 state this was the building "where Mr. Manson was living last winter."[44] On retiring from the service in 1857, Manson, former officer in charge of the New Caledonia brigade, lived at Langley for a year before settling in Oregon.[45] That this residence also housed the brigade officers on their annual visit is indicated by Douglas's comment that "we will put up another building hereafter for the accommodation of the Gentlemen from the Interior, who must this year occupy the big house."[46]

Indian Shop

The Indian trade shop at Company forts was commonly built into the palisade, allowing trade without admitting the natives to the fort proper. This practice seems to have been adopted at Langley for an entry in Wilson's diary notes "the usual precautions are taken to prevent a surprise from the Indians, only a limited number being admitted at one time."[47] The building forming part of the northern palisade on McColl's 1862 plan most likely served as Indian trade shop until Indians were admitted to trade in the saleshop in 1860.

Other Buildings

There is less evidence of the location or appearance of other buildings inside the 1840 fort: equipment shop, blacksmith's shop, boatbuilder's shop, kitchen and various warehouses. When Langley assumed the role of interior depot, an equipment shop was established to received the interior requisitions from Fort Victoria and make up the inland pieces.[48] In addition, *batteaux* for the brigade route were repaired and built at Langley.[49] At least one kitchen or cookhouse existed, situated in the southwest corner of the fort near the Big House.[50] If the blacksmith's shop, fitted up as a dwelling house in 1871,[51] is the Cromarty house shown in the 1873 ground plan, this structure was located on the west or north side of the fort near the northwest bastion.

Several buildings were located outside the palisade walls. In an 1844 letter to Simpson, Yale reported "that part of the Establishment constituting the Fort with the outdoor buildings for curing etc. affords every desireable convenience."[52] A watercolour, "View from Fort Langley Downriver," drawn by an American boundary surveyor in 1860 (Fig. 25) shows these salmon sheds on the riverbank just west of the fort. Other sheds here were used for storing cranberries.[53] A dairy was located immediately behind the fort and other outbuildings there perhaps served as storage places for the tools and produce of the adjacent garden. At Langley Farm, about one mile south of the fort on Langley prairie, there were dwelling houses for farm labourers, two dairies, cattle sheds and hay barns.[54]

As commercial activity on the lower mainland shifted away from Langley with the opening of navigation to Yale and the establishment of the capital at New Westminster, the buildings of Fort Langley gradually fell into disrepair. On a visit to the fort 10 December 1861, Chief Factors Dugald McTavish and A.G. Dallas reported, "the stores and warehouses are in a fearful state with dirt and confusion for which there is no excuse."[55] By 1866 the buildings were "fast decaying" and material from the fort was being used to erect sheds on the farm.[56] The blacksmith's shop was made into a dwelling house in 1861 and in 1872 a new roof was put on the cooper's shop which was fixed up as a saleshop.[57] The Big House, so long the hub of fort life and the birthplace of British Columbia, was torn down in the fall of 1872. The same year a new residence was built for the manager in charge of the store.[58] An 1873 ground plan of the property shows three remaining buildings: the Company store (cooper's shop), Company House (1872) and Cromarty's house (the converted blacksmith's shop?).

In view of its poor situation for business approximately 400 yards east of the steamboat landing for Langley town, the Company determined to leave its 1840 site in 1885. The Company built a new store on the far northwest corner of lot 19 (official survey of New Westminster district, group 2). The move was made from "Fort Langley" in April 1886.[59] The fort property, with the exception of the one-acre site of the new store and an acre on Langley sandspit, was sold to Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Mavis in January 1888.

Appendix H. Descriptions of Langley Farm.

A general description of Langley Farm and particular instructions regarding each of its 20 lots were furnished by the Hudson's Bay Company to Messrs. Davies and Company, Auctioneers, for the public sale of Langley Farm which was held on 17 June 1878. Both documents are quoted below. In the "Particulars," U.P. means Upset Price and R.P., Reserve Price.

General description of the land, furnished to Messrs. Davies & Co., 5 April 1878.[1]

The whole tract is well watered. Two rivers – the "Nicomekel" and "Salmon". The whole is divided into 20 lots – 14 of which are little more or less than 100 acres each; 2 about 50 acres each; 2 about 30 acres each; 1 about 190 acres; and 1 over 150 acres. Nearly two thirds of the whole is fine open prairie land – the remainder being timbered (not heavily) with Alders, Cottonwood, Firs, Cedars, etc. – Most of which is easy to clear. The soil of the open land is chiefly a black loam, in some parts over 2 ft. deep, & of the timbered land a lighter, & in part sandy, loam – on clay subsoil. Several of the subdivision lots consist entirely of open or prairie land, having in parts scattering copses of small cottonwood, birch, brush &c. – A large extent is cultivated Hay, Timothy, Grass land – enclosed with 7 or 8 miles of rail Fencing – chiefly Cedar. On several of the lots, in different parts of the Estate, there are substantial Buildings – some of them in good & others in fair condition comprehending the following:
3 large Barns & 1 large Shed of split cedar & logs – with Leanto feeding sheds for Stock & ample storeage room for Hay. 1 large Building of sawn lumber – being a Barn, Cow & Calf House combined with commodious Hay Loft above, affording convenience for feeding, milking &c. 1 Dairy (stream running under it), 2 large well constructed Piggeries, - 1 Boiling House, 1 work shop, 4 Houses for men – 1 frame Dwelling House – 5 rooms lathed & plastered, with Leanto Kitchen in rear. Other particulars that may be desirable you have in –

(1) the present advertisements in the newspapers.
(2) the terms of sale, & Agreement papers – handed you today.
(3) the Government lithographed & other Maps – showing the position of the tract of land as regards Fraser River, New Westminster, & other points.
(4) Mr. Patterson's Map of the Estate.

You are aware that the whole Langley region (New Westminster District) is a favorite place of settlement; & you are well acquainted with distances &c. on the Fraser River & elsewhere, and with such general facts or information as will be interesting to intending purchasers or others into whose hands the Advertisements may come.

5th April 1878 A.M.

Particulars of Subdivision Lots, Fences, Building etc. on Langley Farm provided to the Auctioneer for the sale on 17 June, 1878.[2]

Lot No.	Acres	U.P.	R.P.	
1	103.14	$20.00	$27.50	Probably bring $30 or more.
	7-1/2			Get utmost. Take time. Open prairie – soil deep black loam on clay subsoil. Some cotton wood copses & brush. *Fencing* – split cedar rails, 16-3/4 chains
	35-1/2			Timbered – soil, clay loam. Very easily prepared for plough. Good wheat land. Well watered by the Nicomekel River.
2	101.38	$25.00	$27.50	Try for $30 or more. Aim as high as Lot 1.
	58-1/2			Get utmost. Open prairie – soil deep black loam on clay subsoil. Some brush, easily cleared.
	42-1/2			Timbered – soil, good as above. Very easily prepared for plow. Well watered by Nicomekel River.
3	99.64	$20.00	$27.50	Try for $30 & upwards. Aim as high as preceding Lots.
	52			Open prairie – soil deep black loam, as above, clay subsoil. South part formerly worked, North part scattering of cottonwoods & brush.
	47			Timbered – soil, west of river excellent bottom-land, East of river lighter loam. Well watered by Nicomekel River.
4	97.90	$25.00	$27.50	Go as high as preceding Lots if possible.
	67			Open prairie – black loam on clay subsoil. Mostly cultivated. Scattering cottonwoods & brush. *Fencing* – split cedar rails – 73 87/100 chains

	31			Timbered – soil, loam East of river scattering large alders & cottonwoods. Well watered by Nicomekel River.
5	96.15	$25.00	$30.00	Get as much more as possible. Take time.
	76			Open prairie-soil "first-class". Large extent cultivated Hay land. Field shewn enclosed on Map lately broken up. Land on North side covered with grass & clover. *Fencing* – split cedar rails 70 62/100 chains *Buildings* – in good order generally, vizt. 1 Barn & Cow and Calf House with Hay Loft combined. Of sawn Lumber 100 x 50 ft. 1 Dwelling – of sawn lumber 28 x 18 ft. 1 Dairy – of sawn lumber 20 x 16 ft. 1 Pig Pen of Logs & split cedar, 94 x 16 ft. well constructed
	20			Timbered – soil, black loam. Well watered by Nicomekel River.
6	94.41	$25.00	$30.00	Get utmost.
	82-3/4			Open prairie – good black loam on clay subsoil. Some brush & fern. Easily brought into cultivation. Fencing – cedar rails – 5-1/2 chains
	11-1/2			Timbered – soil, clay loam. Well watered by Nicomekel River.
7	92.66	$25.00	$27.50	Get utmost. Take time.
	all			Open prairie – black loam on clay subsoil. Some brush & scattering small cottonwood copses. Easy to cultivate. Nicomekel River at S.E. corner.
8	45.62	$25.00	$27.50	Sell for as much more as possible. Take time.
	all			Open prairie – good black loam on clay subsoil. Some brush & Scattering small cotton wood. Easy to work.
				Fencing – Cedar rails 8-1/4 chains
9	81.11	$25.00	$30.00	Get utmost.
	all			Open prairie – good black loam on clay subsoil. Mostly Hay land. Some brush & copses of cottonwood & birch. Easy to clear. *Fencing* – cedar rails – 36-1/4 chains
10	191.51	$25.00	$30.00	Get utmost. Take time – large lot.
	80-3/4			Open prairie – excellent black loam. Partly cultivated Hay land. *Fencing* – cedar rails – 93 chains.
	110-1/2			Timbered – good bottom land on river. Splendidly watered by the Salmon River.
11	94.86	$20.00		Try for $25. or more. Get utmost. See Lot 1 opposite on Map.
				Open prairie – good black loam on clay subsoil.
				Timbered – soil, good black loam, easily cleared.
12	96.62	$20.00		Try for $25. & upward. Get utmost. See Lot 2 opposite.
				Open prairie – good black loam on clay subsoil.
				Timbered – soil good black loam.
13	98.36	$25.00	$30.00	Try for $30.00. Get utmost. Better lot than No. 3. opposite.
	47			Open prairie – good black loam on clay subsoil. Some fern and rose &c. bushes. Fine open spaces.
	51			Timbered – soil, black loam. Has a beautiful perennial spring of water.
14	100.10	$20.00	$25.00	Try for $25 & upwards. Get utmost. See Lot 4 opposite.
	53			Open prairie – good black loam on clay subsoil. Some brush. Easy to clear.
	47			Timbered – soil, black loam. Well watered.
15	101.85	$25.00		Get utmost. See Lot 5 opposite.

	49-1/2			Open prairie – good black loam on clay subsoil. Some fern & brush. Some crab fringes the creek.
	52-1/4			Timbered – rich loam, lighter towards West boundary. Well located.
16	103.59	$20.00	$25.00	Try for $25 or more. Get utmost. See Lot 6 opposite.
	54-1/2			Open – good black loam. Mostly cultivated Hay land. *Fencing* – Cedar rails – 53-75/100 chains
	49			Timbered – soil, black loam, Well watered.
17	105.34	$25.00	$27.50	Get utmost. See Lot 7 opposite.
	64			Open – soil "first class" cultivated Hay land (Timothy) *Fencing* – cedar rails – 40 chains
	41-1/4			Timbered – soil, deep loam. Well watered.
18	53.38	$25.00	$27.50	Sell at as much as possible. See Lot 8 opposite.
	32-1/4			Open – Soil "first class" cultivated Hay land (Timothy) *Fencing* – Cedar rails – 51-1/2 chains
	21			Timbered – soil, deep loam. Well watered.
19	73.69	$25.00	$30.00	Sell at utmost obtainable over this. See Lot 9 opposite.
	50-3/4			Open – Soil "first class" cultivated Hay land. *Fencing* – Cedar rails – 27 chains
	22-3/4			Timbered – good bottom land (crab). Well watered.
20	153.81	$25.00	$30.00	Get utmost. Take time – large lot. See No. 10 opposite.
				Open – soil, rich loam, cultivated Hay land. *Fencing* – cedar rails – 112 87 chains Buildings in fair order generally, vizt. – South side of Ravine: – 1 good Barn, 110 x 30 ft., split cedar. – North side of Ravine: – 1 Barn, 62 x 26 ft., split cedar & logs. 1 shed – 148 x 24 ft. split cedar & logs 1 Dwelling House 27 x 19 ft. – 5 rooms lathed & plastered with leanto Kitchen in rear – lumber 3 Houses for Men, 20 x 17 ft., sawn lumber 1 Work Shop 27 x 18 ft., sawn lumber 1 Piggery 50 x 20 ft., squared logs 1 Boiling House – split cedar
	94-3/4			Timbered – soil, deep black loam. Well watered

Appendix I. Record of Land Sales of Fort and Farm Lots.[1]

Fort Lot: District of New Westminster, Group 2, Lot 19, 200 acres.

Date of Sale	Quantity Sold	Purchaser	Price
1885, June 17	13 acres	Otway Wilkie	390.00
1888, Jan. 31	185 acres	Alex & Mrs. Mavis	5,850.00
1894, Dec. 4	1 acre	Mrs. Annie Oden	100.00

1 acre unsold as at May 1st, 1899.

Salmon River or First Fort Langley Lot: District of New Westminster, Group 2, Lot 20, 2 acres.

Date of Sale	Quantity Sold	Purchaser	Price
1885, Dec. 8	2 acres	Mrs. Elizabeth Towle	45.00

Farm Lots: District of New Westminster, Group 2, Lots 21 and 22, 2,000 acres.

Date of Sale	Quantity Sold	Purchaser	Price
1885, Dec. 8	2 acres	Mrs. Elizabeth Towle	45.00
1878, June 17	103.14 acres	Lot. 1 R. Norris	2,603.50
1883, Sept. 7	101.38 acres	Lot. 2. Jno. Jolly	2,700.00
1884, May 22	99.64 acres	Lot. 3. August Swain	2,700.00
1882, July 10	97.90 acres	Lot 4. A.J. Boville	2,692.25
1882, Jan. 2	96.15 acres	Lot. 5. Jas. Cran	3,100.00
1878, June 17	232.69 acres	Lot. 6, 7, 8, J.M. Johnston	6,061.35
1884, Mar. 25	4.11 acres	Lot. 9 Rbt. Rowan	2,230.50
1884, Apr. 15	191.51 acres	Lot. 10 Thos. Stoddart	5,740.00
1886, Feb. 15	191.48 acres	Lots 11&12 Jos. Mufford	3,500.00
1879, Oct. 20	98.36 acres	Lot. 13 G.E. Underwood	2,704.90
1884, Nov. 11	100.10 acres	Lot. 14 Alex McDonald	2,750.00
1884, Apr. 8	101.85 acres	Lot 15 P. Oaks	2,750.00
1884, Mar. 1	103.59 acres	Lot 16 Rbt. Oaks	2,800.00
1883, Feb. 1	105.34 acres	Lot 17 Jno. Latimer	2,896.85
1878, July 27	127.07 acres	Lots 18&19 Rev. A. Dunn	3,303.82
1883, Sept. 7	153.81 acres	Lot. 20 Wilson Toole	4,800.00

Endnotes

The Hudson's Bay Company Goes to the Pacific

1 "The North West Company will know that if we once get established in the New Caledonia the ruin of their Athabaska trade is consummated." George Simpson, *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabaska Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report*, ed. E.E. Rich (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1938) (hereafter cited as *Journal of Occurrences*), "Report on Athabaska District," pp. 353–61.

2 For a succinct discussion of the factors producing coalition, see John Semple Galbraith, *The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 1821–1869* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1957), pp. 5–8.

3 George Simpson, *Journal of Occurrences*, p. 349, 18 June 1821.

4 An index to the indenture of 26 March 1821 between the Hudson's Bay Company and William McGillivray, Simon McGillivray and Edward Ellice is found in W. Stewart Wallace, ed., *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1934), pp. 321–6.

5 Hudson's Bay Company, *Charters, Statutes, Orders in Council etc. Relating to the Hudson's Bay Company* (London: 1931) (hereafter cited as *Charters*), p. 217.

6 John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., p. 3.

7 By the agreement of March 1821, the remainder of the trade in Canada was assigned to the agency of McGillivrays, Thain and Company. In 1826 the Canada trade was organized under the Montreal Department. The boundaries of the departments changed with time, reflecting the requirements of the trade.

8 John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., p. 114.

9 Ibid., pp. 115–6.

10 F.W. Howay, "A List of Trading Vessels in Maritime Fur Trade 1785–1825," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd ser., Vols. 24–8, Sect. 2 (1930–34), Vol. 25, p. 118.

11 The number of British and American vessels engaged in the maritime trade, discounting the number of years occupied by a voyage and the number of voyages made by any one vessel, Howay estimates as follows:

	British	American
1785–1794	35	15
1795–1804	9	68
1805–1814	3	43
1815–1819	4	54
1820–1825	no totals compiled	

Ibid., Vol. 25, p. 118, Vol. 26, pp. 43–4, Vol. 27, p. 119.

12 Ibid., Vol. 27, pp. 119–23.

13 John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., p. 118.

14 Ibid., p. 117.

15 Ibid., p. 120.

16 Ibid., pp. 119–20.

17 Simon Fraser, *Letters and Journals, 1806–1808*, ed. and intro. W. Kaye Lamb (Toronto: Macmillan, 1960), p. 16.

18 For an excellent discussion of the role of the Royal Navy in the purchase of Astoria, see Barry M. Gough, *The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of America, 1810–1914: A Study of British Maritime Ascendency* (Vancouver: Univ. of British Columbia Press, 1971), pp. 12–20.

19 Ibid., pp. 27–8.

20 The text of the convention is to be found in the United States. Treaties, etc., *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, ed. David Hunter Miller (Washington: USGPO, 1931–48), Vol. 5, pp. 10–1.

21 Hudson's Bay Company, *Charters*, p. 96, "An Act for Regulating the Fur Trade, 2 July 1821."

22 George Simpson, *Journal of Occurrences*, p. 388.

23 George Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire; George Simpson's Journal; Remarks Connected with the Fur Trade in the Course of a Voyage from York Factory to Fort George and back to York Factory, 1824–25; together with accompanying Documents*, ed. and intro. Frederick Merk (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1931) (hereafter cited as *Fur Trade and Empire*), App. A, p. 175, governor and committee to Simpson, 27 Feb. 1822.

24 Hudson's Bay Company. Archives (hereafter cited as HBCA), D.4/116, p. 92, Cameron to Simpson, 5 April 1822. Chief Factor John Dugald Cameron noted the many "useless" articles at Fort George which "must remain a dead loss on the Company's hands."

25 John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., pp. 81–2.

26 Alexander Mackenzie, *The Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie*, ed. W. Kaye Lamb (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970), p. 24 (introduction).

27 Following the Fraser 500 miles from Fort George to the Strait of Georgia, Fraser was compelled to travel considerable distances by land. His journal indicates that long stretches of the river were useless as a supply and travel route. Simon Fraser, op. cit., pp. 96–7.

28 Ibid., p. 29 (introduction).

29 Entries in the journal kept by Daniel Harmon (who was stationed at Fraser Lake, 1814–16, and at Stuart Lake, 1816–19) indicate that from 1814–19 New Caledonia continued to send its returns and receive its supplies by the costly eastern route. Daniel Williams Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America . . . .* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1903), pp. 202–29.

30 HBCA, B.188/a/1, 8 Jan. 1821.

31 HBCA, D.4/119, p. 53, Stuart to governor and council, 27 April 1822.

32 HBCA, D.4/117, pp. 14–6, William Brown to Simpson, 3 Dec. 1822.

33 George Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire*, App. A, p. 175, governor and committee to Simpson, 27 Feb. 1822.

34 Hudson's Bay Company, *Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821–1831*, eds. R. Harvey Fleming and E.E. Rich (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940) (hereafter cited as *Minutes*), p. 17, 8 July 1822.

35 Ibid., p. 341, Simpson to governor and committee, 16 July 1822.

36 John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., p. 82.

37 George Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 241–2, governor and committee to J.D. Cameron, 22 July 1824.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid., p. 175, governor and committee to Simpson, 27 Feb. 1822.

40 John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., p. 134.

41 George Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 241, governor and committee to J.D. Cameron, 22 July 1824.

42 Simpson's birthdate is uncertain, but is generally stated as being circa 1786.

43 A broad sketch of Simpson's evolving character in this period is presented by Edwin Ernest Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670–1870* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1959), Vol. 2, pp. 432–68.

44 Hudson's Bay Company, *Minutes*, p. 84, 10 July 1824.

45 George Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 23.

46 Simpson recorded a gain of "Twenty Days on any Craft that ever preceded us." Ibid., p. 64.

47 The report is printed in full, ibid., pp. 3–174.

48 Ibid., p. 66.

49 Ibid., p. 50.

50 Ibid., p. 66.

51 Ibid., p. 75.

52 The persistence of this attitude is seen in Simpson's preoccupation with an improved eastern supply route for New Caledonia during his journey to the Columbia. Ibid., pp. 37–8.

53 Ibid., p. 72.

54 Ibid., pp. 72–3.

55 Ibid., p. 73.

56 Ibid., p. 75, "from the Natives of Thompson's River we know that when the Water subsides it is a fine large deep navigable River."

57 Ibid., p. 75.

58 Ibid., pp. 113–8, Simpson's report on the expedition.

59 For further details on McMillan's work on the Pacific Slope, *see* "The Establishment of Fort Langley." A brief biography of McMillan appears in Hudson's Bay Company, *Minutes*, App. B, p. 450.

60 The route of this expedition may be worked out in detail from T.C. Elliot, ed., "Journal of John Work, November and December 1824," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (July 1912), pp. 198–228. McMillan's report has not been traced in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, but extracts appear in George Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire*, App. A, pp. 248–50, "Extracts from Mr. Chief Trader MacMillan's Report of His Voyage and Survey from the Columbia to Frazer's River" (hereafter cited as "McMillan's Report"), 31 Dec. 1824.

61 George Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 115

62 McMillan reported that the Indians in this region of the Fraser valley spoke a language similar to that of the Piscahouse or Okanagan Indians. Ibid., p. 249, "McMillan's Report," 31 Dec. 1824.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid., p. 115, Simpson's 1824 report.

65 Ibid., p. 117.

66 Ibid., pp. 84–6.

67 Ibid., p. 87.

68 Simpson's report strongly recommends the agricultural merits of the Fort Vancouver site. This emphasis is further indicated by the governor and committee's remark that "much benefit will be derived from raising here all the provisions that can be required for the whole of our trade West of the Mountains." Ibid., App. A, p. 266, governor and committee to Simpson, 23 Feb. 1826.

69 HBCA, D.4/5, pp. 17–9, Simpson to William Brown, 4 April 1825.

70 Hudson's Bay Company, *Minutes*, pp. 115–6, 2 July 1825.

71 George Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 92, Simpson's 1824 Report.

72 Ibid., App. A, p. 265, Simpson to H.U. Addington, 5 Jan. 1826.

73 Ibid., p. 266.

74 Ibid., App. A, p. 266, governor and committee to Simpson, 26 Feb. 1826.

75 Ibid., p. 267.

76 Ibid., pp. 266, 271–2.

77 Ibid., p. 267.

78 HBCA, D.4/6, p. 5, Simpson to McLoughlin, 10 July 1826.

79 Ibid., p. 4.

80 McDonald's later years at Fort Langley are discussed in "The Coastal Trade." For a detailed account of his early career, *see* George Simpson, *Part of a Dispatch from George Simpson, Esqr., Governor of Ruperts Land to the Governor & Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, London, March 1, 1829; continued and completed March 24 and June 5, 1829*, ed. E.E. Rich, intro. W. Stewart Wallace (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1947) (hereafter cited as *Part of a Dispatch, 1829*), App. B, pp. 253–8.

81 HBCA, B.97/a/2, pp. 27–9, Archibald McDonald to McLoughlin, 30 Sept. 1826.

82 HBCA, D.4/120, pp. 42–4, William Connolly to governor in chief and council, Northern Department, 15 March 1827.

83 Ibid., D.4/90, p. 105, Simpson to Connolly, 9 July 1827.

84 Ibid., p. 94, Simpson to McLoughlin, 9 July 1827.

85 Ibid., p. 98.

The Establishment of Fort Langley

1 HBCA, B.113/a/1, p. 1, "Journal of the Voyage of the Party destined to form an Establishment at the entrance of Frasers River, and of their Proceedings and other Occurrences at Fort Langley, the whole commencing with the 27th June 1827 and carried up to the 16th February 1828, kept by George Barnston" (hereafter cited as "Journal of the Voyage").

2 The schooner *Cadboro* of about 70 tons burden was built on the Rye in 1826 and purchased by the Hudson's Bay Company for £800. It arrived on the Pacific coast in the spring of 1827 and in company with the *Vancouver*, built at Fort Vancouver, was to play an active role in the coastal trade.

3 HBCA, B.113/a/1, pp. 2–3, "Journal of the Voyage," 4–11 July 1827.

4 Ibid., pp. 4–5, 11–2 July 1827.

5 Ibid., p. 5, 23 July 1827.

6 Ibid., 24 July 1827.

7 Ibid., 26 July 1827.

8 Ibid., 27 July 1827.

9 Ibid., 28 July 1827.

10 Ibid., p. 6, 29 July 1827.

11 HBCA, D.4/121, pp. 14–5, McMillan to McLoughlin, 14 Sept. 1827.

12 Ibid.

13 Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), MG19, A23, p. 215, McMillan to John McLeod, 21 Jan. 1828, "on the first of August began to cut the first stick for Fort Langley."

14 HBCA, D.4/121, pp. 14–5, McMillan to McLoughlin, 14 Sept. 1827.

15 HBCA, B.113/a/1, p. 6, "Journal of the Voyage," 31 July 1827.

16 Ibid., p. 7, 14 Aug. 1827.

17 Ibid., p. 6, 28 July 1827; ibid., p. 11, 1 Sept. 1827.
18 Ibid., p. 6, 29 July 1827.
19 Ibid., p. 7, 8 Aug. 1827.
20 HBCA, D.4/121, pp. 16–7, McMillan to McLoughlin, 15 Sept. 1827.
21 Ibid.
22 HBCA, B.113/a/1, p. 8, "Journal of the Voyage," 11 Aug. 1827.
23 Ibid., p. 9, 18, 19, 23 Aug. 1827.
24 Ibid., p. 8, 20 Aug. 1827.
25 Ibid., p. 12, 8 Sept. 1827.
26 Ibid.; HBCA, D.4/121, pp. 14–5, McMillan to McLoughlin, 14 Sept. 1827.
27 HBCA, B.113/a/1, p. 8, "Journal of the Voyage," 11 Aug. 1827.
28 Ibid., p. 12, 8 Sept. 1827.
29 Ibid., p. 13, 14–5 Sept. 1827.
30 Ibid., 18 Sept. 1827.
31 Ibid., 9 Sept. 1827.
32 Ibid., p. 14, 22, 26 Sept. 1827.
33 Ibid., p. 17, 19 Oct. 1827.
34 Ibid., pp. 21–2, 26 Nov. 1827.
35 Ibid., p. 6, 30 July 1827.
36 British Columbia. Provincial Archives (hereafter cited as PABC), Fort Langley Journal, 27 June 1827–30 July 1830 (hereafter cited as Fort Langley Journal), p. 92, 28 Nov. 1828. This journal consists of 175 pages and is transcribed from the original also in the possession of the PABC. Portions of this journal are also found in HBCA, B.113/a/1, "Journal of the Voyage," already cited, HBCA, B.113/a/2, "Journal of Occurrences at Fort Langley, February 18, 1828 to February 17, 1829," and HBCA, B.113/a/3, "Journal of Occurrences at Fort Langley, February 18, 1829 to February 17, 1830." The first part of the journal is written by George Barnston and James McMillan, the second by Archibald McDonald.
37 PAC, MG19, A23, p. 216, McMillan to McLeod, 21 Jan. 1828.
38 PABC, Fort Langley Journal, p. 90, 15 Nov. 1828.
39 PAC, MG19, A23, p. 216, McMillan to McLeod, 21 Jan. 1828.
40 HBCA, D.4/121, p. 14–5, McMillan to McLoughlin, 14 Sept. 1827.
41 PAC, MG19, A23, p. 216, McMillan to McLeod, 21 Jan. 1828.
42 HBCA, D.4/121, p. 23, McMillan to governor, chief factors and chief traders, Northern Department, 18 Feb. 1828.
43 Standard set by Fort Vancouver for the trade of the Pacific Slope.
44 HBCA, D.4/121, pp. 14–5, McMillan to McLoughlin, 14 Sept. 1827.
45 Ibid., p. 16, McMillan to McLoughlin, 15 Sept. 1827.
46 HBCA, B.223/b/3, p. 30, McLoughlin to McMillan, 27 Nov. 1827.
47 The Anglo-American negotiations on the Oregon boundary had been reopened in November 1826 and terminated in August 1827 by an agreement to prolong the convention of 1818 indefinitely, subject to abrogation by either party on a year's notice. For a detailed discussion of the British viewpoint, *see* John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., pp. 184–8.
48 HBCA, A.6/21, pp. 148d–149, governor and committee to Simpson, 16 Jan. 1828.
49 HBCA, D.4/121, p. 24, McMillan to governor, chief factors and chief traders, Northern Department, 18 Feb. 1828.
50 PABC, Fort Langley Journal, p. 51, 15 March 1828.
51 HBCA, B.223/b/4, pp. 2–3, McLoughlin to McMillan, 31 March 1828.
52 John McLoughlin, *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee . . .* , ed. E.E. Rich, intro. W. Kaye Lamb (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1941–44), Vol. 1, pp. 63–7, 7 Aug. 1828.
53 PABC, Fort Langley Journal, p. 52, 19 March 1828.
54 Ibid.
55 George Simpson, *Part of a Dispatch, 1829*, p. 4.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid., pp. xxvii, 16.
58 Ibid., p. 25.
59 Ibid., p. 28.
60 Ibid., p. 29.
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid., p. 35.
63 Natural slides.
64 Archibald McDonald, *Peace River. A Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to Pacific, by the late Sir George Simpson (Governor, Hon. Hudson's Bay Company), in 1828. Journal of the late Chief Factor, Archibald McDonald (Hon. Hudson's Bay Company) who accompanied him*, ed. Malcolm McLeod (Ottawa: J. Durie & Son, 1872), p. 35.
65 George Simpson, *Part of a Dispatch, 1829*, p. 34.
66 Ibid., p. 35.
67 Ibid., pp. 35–6.
68 Ibid., p. 36.
69 Ibid., pp. 36–7.
70 Ibid., p. 37.
71 Ibid., p. 38.
72 Ibid., pp. 38–9.
73 PABC, Fort Langley Journal, p. 82, 11 Oct. 1828.
74 Archibald McDonald, op. cit., pp. 38–9.
75 Ibid.
76 George Simpson, *Part of a Dispatch, 1829*, pp. 41–3.
77 Ibid., pp. 43–4.
78 Ibid., p. 41.
79 George Simpson, *Part of a Dispatch, 1829*, p. 42.

The Coastal Trade

1 John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., pp. 127–34.
2 George Simpson, *Part of a Dispatch, 1829*, pp. 78–81.
3 George Simpson, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 72–8; John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., p. 138.
4 George Simpson, *Part of a Dispatch, 1829*, pp. 81–92, 101–2.
5 *See* "The Establishment of Fort Langley."
6 George Simpson, *Part of a Dispatch, 1829*, p. 85.
7 For further details of McDonald's career, *see* George Simpson, *Part of a Dispatch, 1829*, App. B, pp. 253–8.
8 Archibald McDonald, op. cit.
9 PABC, Fort Langley Journal, p. 109.
10 HBCA, D.4/122, pp. 38–9, Archibald McDonald to governor, chief factors and chief traders, 22 March 1829.
11 Ibid.
12 F.W. Howay, "The Brig Owhyhee in the Columbia, 1829–30," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (March 1934), pp. 10–21. *See also* John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 1xxxix–1xxxx.
13 HBCA, D.4/123, pp. 118–29, Archibald McDonald to governor and council, 25 Feb. 1830.

14 PABC, Fort Langley Journal, pp. 114–5.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., p. 123.
17 Ibid., p. 127.
18 Ibid., p. 131.
19 John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 1xiii–1xxx; HBCA, B.223/b/5, pp. 8–13, McLoughlin to governor and committee, 5 Aug. 1829.
20 Both Simpson and McLoughlin had stressed the importance of having one year's stock constantly in advance, but this measure was not adopted until after Simpson's visit to London in October 1829. John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. lxxii, lxxxiv.
21 HBCA, D.4/123, pp. 118–20, McDonald to governor and council, 25 Feb. 1830; PABC, AB40, M142A, McDonald to Edward Ermatinger, 5 March 1830.
22 HBCA, B.113/b/1, pp. 1–2, McDonald to governor and council, Northern Department, 24 Feb. 1830.
23 HBCA, D.4/123, p. 28, McDonald to McLoughlin, 14 Nov. 1829; PABC, Fort Langley Journal, p. 150, 29 Nov. 1829; PABC, AB40, M142A, McDonald to Ermatinger, 20 Feb. 1831.
24 HBCA, B.223/b/5, pp. 8–13, McLoughlin to governor and council, 5 Aug. 1829; PABC, AB40, M142A, McDonald to Ermatinger, 20 Feb. 1831.
25 HBCA, B.223/b/6, pp. 5–6, McLoughlin to McDonald, 7 July 1830; HBCA, B.113/b/1, p. 4, McDonald to McLoughlin, 18 Aug. 1830; HBCA, B.113/b/1, pp. 9–10, McDonald to McLoughlin, 20 Sept. 1830; HBCA, B.223/c/1, pp. 19–24, Aemelius Simpson to McLoughlin, 23 Sept. 1830.
26 John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. lxxvii; PABC, John McLeod, Letters Received, Douglas to McLeod, 12 March 1832.
27 HBCA, B.223/b/7, pp. 1–2, McLoughlin to McDonald, 4 June 1831.
28 PABC, AB40, M142A, McDonald to McLeod, 15 Jan. 1832; PABC, John McLeod, Letters Received, Douglas to McLeod, 12 March 1832.
29 PAC, MG19, A23, pp. 262–5, McDonald to McLeod, 20 Feb. 1831; HBCA, B.223/b/7, pp. 1–2, McLoughlin to McDonald, 4 June 1831.
30 PAC, MG19, A23, pp. 290–3, McDonald to McLeod, 15 Jan. 1832; HBCA, B.223/b/8, pp. 40–3, Duncan Finlayson to McLoughlin, 2 Aug. 1832.
31 HBCA, B.223/b/8, pp. 40–3, Finlayson to McLoughlin, 2 Aug. 1832; ibid., pp. 38–9, Finlayson to McDonald, 2 Aug. 1832.
32 HBCA, A.12/1, pp. 435–6, Simpson to governor and committee, 10 Aug. 1832.
33 HBCA, B.223/b/8, p. 43, McLoughlin to McDonald, 30 Nov. 1832.
34 McDonald's report is missing in HBCA, but is referred to in HBCA, D.5/4, pp. 35–40, McLoughlin to Simpson, 20 March 1833.
35 PAC, MG19, A23, McDonald to McLeod, 20 Feb. 1833.
36 HBCA, D.5/4, pp. 35–40, McLoughlin to Simpson, 20 March 1833; HBCA, B.223/b/9, p. 12, McLoughlin to Francis Heron, 18 June 1833.
37 Ibid., p. 15, McLoughlin to Heron, 2 July 1833.
38 HBCA, D.4/119, p. 45, McLoughlin to Simpson, 20 March 1836; HBCA, D.4/120, p. 53, McLoughlin to Simpson, 20 March 1827.
39 HBCA, B.223/b/8, pp. 18–20, McLoughlin to Ogden, 5 Oct. 1832; HBCA, B.223/b/7, p. 10d, McLoughlin to Ogden, 15 Dec. 1831.
40 HBCA, B.223/b/10, pp. 13–5, McLoughlin to governor and committee, 28 May 1834.
41 Ibid.
42 John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. cxiii.
43 HBCA, A.6/23, pp. 61–4, governor and committee to McLoughlin, 1 Feb. 1834; ibid., pp. 48–50, governor and committee to McLoughlin, 4 Dec. 1833.
44 In 1832 McLoughlin issued a prospectus for a joint stock company to be carried on as a private venture by Company officers in the Columbia District. Simpson and the governor and committee refused permission and decided to make it a Company project. *See* John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., pp. 193–5.
45 HBCA, B.239/k/2, p. 73, minutes of council, York Factory, July 1832.
46 HBCA, A.6/23, pp. 99–101, governor and committee to McLoughlin, 10 Dec. 1834.
47 John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. cxiii.
48 PABC, AB20, L3A, McLoughlin to Simpson, 3 March 1835.
49 HBCA, B.223/c/1, pp. 39–43, governor and committee to McLoughlin, 28 Aug. 1835.
50 HBCA, A.6/23, p. 154, governor and committee to McLoughlin, 8 Dec. 1835.
51 HBCA, B.223/b/12, pp. 2–11, McLoughlin to governor and committee, 15 Nov. 1836, and postscript, 18 Nov. 1836.
52 Finlayson's report has not been found, but is referred to in HBCA, D.6/24, pp. 112–21, governor and committee to Douglas, 15 Nov. 1837.
53 HBCA, B.223/d/17, pp. 38–46, McLoughlin to governor and committee, 31 Oct. 1837; *see also* W. Kaye Lamb, "The Founding of Fort Victoria," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (April 1943), pp. 71–92.
54 The seven vessels were the *Columbia, Ganymede, Dryad, Lama, Nereide, Cadboro* and the steamer *Beaver*. John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. cxv. The four posts were Fort Langley (1827), Fort McLoughlin (1833), Fort Simpson (1831) and Fort Nisqually (1833). The attempt to establish a post at Stikine was thwarted by the Russians.
55 HBCA, B.223/b/12, pp. 16–24, Finlayson to McLoughlin, 29 Sept. 1836.
56 HBCA, A.34/a, p. 51; Yale's career is briefly sketched in George Simpson, *Journal of Occurrences*, pp. 473–4.
57 HBCA, B.223/b/10, McLoughlin to Yale, 23 March 1834.
58 John Work, *The Journal of John Work, January to October 1835*, intro. and notes Henry Drummond Dee (Victoria: C.F. Banfield, 1945), pp. 84–5, 25 and 26 Sept. 1835.
59 HBCA, B.223/b/10, p. 24, McLoughlin to Yale, 14 Sept. 1834; ibid., p. 27, McLoughlin to Yale, 2 Oct. 1834; HBCA, B.223/b/11, p. 26, McLoughlin to Yale, 7 Sept. 1835.
60 HBCA, B.223/b/10, p. 25, McLoughlin to Yale, 14 Sept. 1834; ibid., p. 27, McLoughlin to Yale, 2 Oct. 1834; HBCA, B.223/b/11, p. 26, McLoughlin to Yale, 7 Sept. 1835.
61 HBCA, B.223/b/10, p. 13, McLoughlin to Yale, 16 May 1834; HBCA, B.223/b/15, p. 63, McLoughlin to Yale, 12 Dec. 1836; HBCA, B.223/b/15, pp. 74–8, McLoughlin to Simpson, 20 March 1837.
62 HBCA, B.223/b/15, pp. 74–8, McLoughlin to Simpson, 20 March 1837.
63 HBCA, B.223/b/18, p. 7, McLoughlin to Yale, 16 Nov. 1837.

64 Ibid., p. 22, McLoughlin to Yale, 6 March 1838; HBCA, B.223/b/20, p. 78, Douglas to Simpson, 18 March 1838.

65 John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 245–6, Douglas to governor and committee, 18 Oct. 1838.

66 HBCA, B.223/b/18, p. 22, McLoughlin to Yale, 6 March 1838; HBCA, B.223/b/20, p. 78, Douglas to Simpson, 18 March 1838; HBCA, B.223/b/22, pp. 23–4, Douglas to Yale, 16 Aug. 1838.

67 HBCA, B.223/b/22, pp. 23–4, Douglas to Yale, 16 Aug. 1838.

68 HBCA, D.5/4, pp. 67–72, governor and committee to Simpson, 5 March 1834.

69 John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., pp. 141–2, 150.

70 Ibid., p. 151; John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. cxxv–cxxviii.

71 HBCA, B.223/b/18, p. 22, McLoughlin to Yale, 6 March 1838.

72 HBCA, B.223/b/22, pp. 37–8, Douglas to Yale, 21 Nov. 1838.

73 This date is recorded by Yale in HBCA, D.5/5, pp. 239a–239b, Yale to Simpson, 15 Jan. 1840.

74 John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 2, App. A, p. 216, Douglas to governor and committee, 14 Oct. 1839.

Development of Farm and Fishery

1 John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., pp. 154–5, 196–202. For a good discussion of Company farming in the Pacific Slope, *see* James R. Gibson, "Food for the Fur Farmers in the Pacific Northwest, 1805–1846," *Journal of the West*, Vol. 7 (1968), pp. 18–30.

2 PABC, AB40, Ya2, Simpson to Yale, 20 June 1839.

3 John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 2, App. A, pp. 230–1, McLoughlin to Simpson, 20 March 1840.

4 HBCA, B.223/b/24, pp. 59–60, memorandum, McLoughlin to Yale, 12 Dec. 1839.

5 HBCA, D.5/5, pp. 239a–239b, Yale to Simpson, 15 Jan. 1840.

6 HBCA, B.223/b/28, p. 28, Yale to McLoughlin, 15 April 1840; HBCA, B.223/b/27, pp. 16d–17, McLoughlin to governor and committee, 23 May 1840; HBCA, D.5/6, pp. 31–2, Yale to Simpson, 10 Feb. 1841; PAC, MG24, A35, p. 7, 27 April 1840.

7 John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. xii. "Taku" is variously spelled "Taco," "Tacow," etc.

8 PAC, MG24, A35, pp. 1–2, 27 April 1840.

9 HBCA, B.223/b/27, pp. 16d–17, McLoughlin to governor and committee, 23 May 1840.

10 HBCA, D.5/6, pp. 31–40, Yale to Simpson, 10 Feb. 1841.

11 Yale's letter to McLoughlin has not been found. It is referred to in HBCA, B.223/b/27, pp. 37–8, McLoughlin to governor, factors and traders, 4 Sept. 1840.

12 Stikine and Taku are not debited to Fort Langley in the Columbia accounts, outfit 1840, but the list of sundries received by the *Beaver* probably includes provisions used for the establishment of these northern posts. *See* HBCA, B.223/d/134, p. 43, Country Transfers, 1840.

13 PAC, MG24, A35, p. 52, 22 Sept. 1840; the livestock enumerated in the inventory for 1840 differ only slightly.

14 HBCA, B.223/b/27, pp. 10–1, McLoughlin to Douglas, 11 May 1840.

15 PAC, MG24, A35, p. 52, 22 Sept. 1840.

16 Ibid., HBCA, B.223/b/27, p. 59, McLoughlin to Yale, 8 Dec. 1840.

17 John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 27; ibid., App. A, p. 236, McLoughlin to Simpson, 20 March 1840.

18 HBCA, B.223/b/150, pp. 35–6; HBCA, B.223/b/158, p. 77, Columbia Department credited by Russian American Company, 1843, 1844.

19 HBCA, B.223/b/179, pp. 8–9, Columbia Department credited by Russian American Company, 1847.

20 Beef cattle are not distinguished from milk cattle in the Langley livestock inventories. References to beef curing appear in HBCA, B.223/b/27, p. 59, McLoughlin to Yale, 8 Dec. 1840; HBCA, B.226/b/1, p. 32, Finlayson to Yale, 14 July 1845.

21 PAC, MG24, F71.

22 HBCA, B.223/d/137, pp. 8–9, Country Transfers, Outfit 1841.

23 HBCA, B.226/b/1, pp. 9–10, McLoughlin to Finlayson, 9 Nov. 1844.

24 HBCA, B.223/b/24, pp. 59–60, memorandum, McLoughlin to Yale by 12 Dec. 1839.

25 Ibid., pp. 66–8, McLoughlin to Yale, 22 Feb. 1840; HBCA, B.223/b/27, pp. 15–7, McLoughlin to Yale, 19 May 1840.

26 "The annual flood of the river, inundated nearly all our rich alluvial soil here at the Fort about sixty acres." HBCA, D.5/15, pp. 570–2, Yale to Simpson, 17 Dec. 1845.

27 HBCA, D.5/10, pp. 61–2, Yale to Simpson, 10 Jan. 1844.

28 PAC, MG24, F71.

29 HBCA, D.5/6, p. 33, Yale to Simpson, 10 Feb. 1841.

30 PAC, MG24, A35, p. 52, 22 Sept. 1840.

31 HBCA, D.5/10, pp. 61-2, Yale to Simpson, 10 Jan. 1844; ibid., D.5/12, pp. 592–3, Yale to Simpson, 28 Dec. 1844.

32 HBCA, D.5/12, pp. 592–3, Yale to Simpson, 28 Dec. 1844.

33 Ibid., HBCA, B.223/b/34, p. 22, Douglas and Ogden to Simpson, 19 March 1846; HBCA, B.223/b/35, p. 71, Ogden and Douglas to Simpson, 15 March 1847.

34 HBCA, B.223/d/158, p. 77, Columbia District Transfers (credit Langley by Russian American Company); HBCA, B.223/b/34, p. 22, Douglas and Ogden to Simpson, 19 March 1846; HBCA, B.223/b/35, p. 71, Ogden and Douglas to Simpson, 15 March 1847.

35 John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 125.

36 HBCA, B.223/b/27, p. 59, McLoughlin to Yale, 8 Dec. 1840; HBCA, D.5/12, pp. 592–3, Yale to Simpson, 28 Dec. 1844. *See also* HBCA, B.113/z/1, p. 27, Miscellaneous Invoices, 17 July 1844.

37 HBCA, D.5/7, pp. 25–6, Yale to Simpson, 15 Feb. 1842.

38 HBCA, D.5/10, pp. 61–2, Yale to Simpson, 10 Jan. 1844.

39 HBCA, D.5/15, pp. 570–2, Yale to Simpson, 17 Dec. 1845.

40 HBCA, B.223/b/35, p. 71, Ogden and Douglas to Simpson, 15 March 1847.

41 Ibid.

42 HBCA, D.5/20, p. 522, Yale to Simpson, 25 Nov. 1847.

43 John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., pp. 161–2, 217.

44 HBCA, D.4/10, p. 21, Simpson to governor and council, 25 Nov. 1841.

45 HBCA, D.4/27, pp. 3–9d, Simpson to McLoughlin, 1 March 1842.

46 HBCA, D.4/110, pp. 65–6, Simpson to governor and council, 1 March 1842.

47 HBCA, D.5/6, p. 198, Douglas to Simpson, 24 Aug. 1841.

48 HBCA, D.4/110, p. 51, Simpson to governor and committee, 1 March 1842.

49 Ibid.

50 HBCA, B.223/b/29, pp. 75–91, McLoughlin to governor, deputy governor and committee, 31 Oct. 1842; HBCA, B.223/b/39, pp. 18–9, George Pelly and G.T. Allan to McLoughlin, 12 Jan. 1843.

51 HBCA, B.223/b/30, pp. 28–30, McLoughlin to Pelly and Allan, 3 Aug. 1843; HBCA, A.11/62, pp. 22–3, Pelly and Allan to governor and committee, 24 Sept. 1844; HBCA, A.11/62, p. 40, Pelly and Allan to governor and committee, 5 March 1845.

52 HBCA, B.223/b/31, p. 113, McLoughlin to Pelly and Allan, 1 July 1844.

53 Ibid., D.5/12, pp. 592–3, Yale to Simpson, 28 Dec. 1844.

54 HBCA, B.113/z/1, p. 29, "Invoice of Sundry Furs, Salted Salmon, etc. Shipped from Fort Langley on board the schooner *Cadboro*, 26 Sept., 1844"; HBCA, B.223/b/31, p. 119, McLoughlin to Pelly and Allan, 19 Nov. 1844. For further information on shipping patterns, *see* HBCA, B.223/b/31, pp. 192-3, "Statement of Voyages performed by the Shipping, attached to the Columbia Department, since 1842."

55 HBCA, B.113/z/1, p. 31, "Invoice of Sundry Furs, Salted Salmon, etc., shipped on board of the schooner *Cadboro*, 12 June 1845"; HBCA, B.223/b/35, p. 16, Douglas and Ogden to Simpson, 17 Dec. 1845.

56 HBCA, D.5/15, pp. 570–2, Yale to Simpson, 17 Dec. 1845.

57 HBCA, B.223/b/35, p. 16, Douglas and Ogden to governor and committee, 16 Dec. 1845.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid., D.5/15, pp. 570–2, Yale to Simpson, 17 Dec. 1845.

60 HBCA, B.223/b/34, p. 42, Ogden, Douglas and Work to governor and council, 7 Dec. 1846.

61 HBCA, A.11/62, p. 180, Pelly and Allan to governor and council, 26 Dec. 1846.

62 HBCA, B.223/b/35, p. 71, Ogden and Douglas to Simpson, 15 March 1847.

63 Ibid.

64 PABC, AB40, Ya2, Simpson to Yale, 29 June 1847.

65 Ibid., Douglas to Yale, 26 June 1847.

66 HBCA, B.223/b/36, p. 89, Work and Douglas to governor and council, 6 Nov. 1847.

67 HBCA, A.11/62, p. 298, Pelly and McTavish to governor and council, 10 March 1848; ibid., p. 304, Pelly and McTavish to governor and council, 20 April 1848; PABC, AB40, Ya2, Ogden and Douglas to Yale, 21 May 1848.

68 HBCA, B.223/b/38, p. 61, Douglas and Work to governor and council, 5 Dec. 1848.

69 HBCA, A.11/72, p. 94, Douglas to Archibald Barclay, 3 Sept. 1849; HBCA, A.11/62, p. 514, Pelly and McTavish to governor and council, 27 Aug. 1850.

70 *See* "Langley in Its Most Active Phase."

Establishing Inland Communication

1 HBCA, D.4/110, p. 50, Simpson to governor and committee, 1 March 1842.

2 W. Kaye Lamb, "The Founding of Fort Victoria," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (April 1943), p. 84.

3 Ibid., pp. 84–90.

4 The issue is discussed in detail by W. Kaye Lamb in John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 3, pp. lv–lxi.

5 HBCA, B.226/c/1, pp. 211–7, Simpson to board of management, 31 March 1852.

6 John McLoughlin, op. cit., Vol. 3, pp. xxxv–xxxix, li–lv; Walter N. Sage, "The Oregon Treaty of 1846," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Dec. 1946), pp. 349–67; John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., Chapters 10, 11 and 12.

7 John Semple Galbraith, op. cit., pp. 253–4; F.W. Howay, "The Raison d'Etre of Forts Yale and Hope," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd ser., Vol. 16, Sect. 2 (1922), p. 55.

8 PABC, AB40, Ya2, Simpson to Yale, 19 June 1845.

9 HBCA, D.5/15, pp. 570–2, Yale to Simpson, 17 Dec. 1845.

10 PAC, MG29, B35, Vol. 4, Alexander Caulfield Anderson, "History of the Northwest Coast" (Victoria, 1878).

11 Ibid., pp. 73–83, "Journal of an Expedition under command of Alex. C. Anderson of H.B. Co. undertaken with the view of ascertaining the practicability of a communication with the interior for the import of the annual supplies, 15 May to 9 June, 1846" (hereafter cited as Anderson Journal, 1846), Outward Trip.

12 HBCA, B.223/b/34, pp. 1–13, Ogden, Work and Douglas to governor and council, 2 Nov. 1846.

13 PAC, MG29, B35, Vol. 4, Alexander Caulfield Anderson, op. cit., pp. 83–98; ibid., Anderson Journal, 1846, Return Trip; ibid., pp. 120–3, Anderson to board of management, 23 June 1846; HBCA, B.223/b/34, pp. 1–13, Ogden, Work and Douglas to governor and council, 2 Nov. 1846.

14 HBCA, B.223/b/34, pp. 66–7, Ogden and Douglas to Simpson, 15 March 1847.

15 PABC, AB20, V20d, Ogden and Douglas to Anderson, 12 Jan. 1847.

16 Ibid., Ogden and Douglas to Yale, 28 April 1847.

17 PAC, MG29, B35, Vol. 4, Alexander Caulfield Anderson, op. cit., pp. 99–108; ibid., "Journal of an Expedition to Fort Langley via Thompson's to Fraser's River – Summer of 1847, Outward Journey."

18 HBCA, D.5/20, pp. 697–700, Yale to Simpson, 28 Dec. 1847.

19 PAC, MG29, B35, Vol. 4, Alexander Caulfield Anderson, op. cit., pp. 117–20, Anderson to board of management, 21 June 1847.

20 HBCA, D.5/20, pp. 697–700, Yale to Simpson, 28 Dec. 1847.

21 Ibid., pp. 188–91, Ogden and Douglas to chief factors and chief traders, 1 Sept. 1847.

22 Ibid., pp. 697–700, Yale to Simpson, 28 Dec. 1847.

23 HBCA, B.223/b/36, p. 85, Work and Douglas to governor and council, 6 Nov. 1847.

24 Ibid.

25 HBCA, D.5/20, pp. 697–700, Yale to Simpson, 28 Dec. 1847.

26 Ibid.

27 HBCA, B.223/b/37, pp. 3–9, Ogden and Douglas to Simpson, 16 March 1848.

28 HBCA, B.5/20, pp. 697–700, Yale to Simpson, 28 Dec. 1847.

29 PABC, AB20, V20d, Douglas and Ogden to Yale, 23 March 1848.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., Douglas and Ogden to Yale, 28 April 1847.

32 Ibid., Douglas and Ogden to Yale, 23 March 1848.

33 PABC, AB20, L3A, Douglas and Work to governor and committee, 5 Dec. 1848.

34 F.W. Howay, "The Raison d'Etre of Forts Hope and Yale," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd ser., Vol. 16, Sect. 2 (1922), pp. 56–7; HBCA, A.12/4, p. 533, Simpson to governor and council, 30 June 1849.

35 HBCA, B.223/b/37, p. 46, Anderson to Manson, 24 Aug. 1848; PAC, MG29, B35, Vol. 4, Alexander Caulfield Anderson, op. cit., pp. 128–30, Anderson to board of management, August 1848.

36 HBCA, A.12/4, pp. 547–50, Manson to Simpson, 26 Feb. 1849; HBCA, B.223/b/37, p. 45, Manson to board of management, 24 Aug. 1848.

37 Ibid., D.5/24, pp. 415–8, Yale to Simpson, 18 Nov. 1849.

38 HBCA, D.5/20, pp. 697–700, Yale to Simpson, 28 Dec. 1847.

39 HBCA, B.223/b/37, p. 45, Manson to board of management, 24 Aug. 1847.

40 PABC, AB20, V2Da, Douglas to Yale, 30 Oct. 1848.

41 Ibid., Douglas to John Tod, 30 Oct. 1848.

42 Ibid., Douglas to Yale, 30 Oct. 1848.

43 Ibid., 1 Nov. 1848.

44 Ibid., Douglas to Manson, 1 Nov. 1848.

45 HBCA, D.5/29, pp. 413–4, Yale to Simpson, 28 Dec. 1850.

46 HBCA, D.5/26, p. 148, Douglas to Simpson, 22 Sept. 1849.

47 Ibid., p. 140, Anderson to Simpson, 21 Sept. 1849; HBCA, D.5/27, pp. 358–9, Manson to Simpson, 25 Feb. 1850.

48 HBCA, D.5/27, pp. 358–9, Manson to Simpson, 25 Feb. 1850.

49 HBCA, B.226/c/1, p. 30, Simpson to Ogden, Douglas and Work, 25 June 1850.

50 HBCA, D.5/27, pp. 358–9, Manson to Simpson, 25 Feb. 1850.

51 HBCA, D.5/29, p. 413, Yale to Simpson, 28 Dec. 1850.

52 HBCA, B.226/c/1, p. 34, Simpson to Ogden, Douglas and Work, 25 June 1850.

53 HBCA, D.5/27, p. 342, Douglas to Simpson, 23 Feb. 1850.

54 HBCA, A.11/72, pp. 290–3, Douglas to Barclay, 17 Aug. 1850.

55 Ibid.

56 HBCA, D.5/29, pp. 413–4, Yale to Simpson, 28 Dec. 1850.

Langley in Its Most Active Phase

1 HBCA, B.226/b/3, pp. 61–2, Douglas to Yale, 22 Feb. 1851; HBCA, B.226/b/4, pp. 42–4, Douglas to Yale, 13 Feb. 1852.

2 HBCA, B.226/b/3, pp. 8–9, Douglas to Yale, 22 Aug. 1850.

3 HBCA, B.113/c/1, p. 77, Douglas to Yale, 26 May 1855; HBCA, B.226/b/12, Douglas to Yale, 27 May 1856.

4 HBCA, B.226/b/6, Douglas to Barclay, 12 July 1852; HBCA, A.11/74, pp. 228–9, Douglas to Barclay, 4 July 1853, and subsequent annual reports.

5 PABC, AB20, V20d, Douglas and Ogden to Yale, 23 March 1848.

6 HBCA, B.226/c/1, p. 34, Simpson to Ogden, Douglas and Work, 25 June 1850.

7 HBCA, B.226/b/3, p. 83, Douglas to Yale, 21 April 1851.

8 PABC, AC40, Ya2, Yale to Simpson, 22 Oct. 1852.

9 *See* annual reports; for example, HBCA, B.226/b/6, pp. 93–8, Douglas to Barclay, 12 July 1852; HBCA, A.11/74, pp. 228–9, Douglas to Barclay, 4 July 1853; HBCA, B.226/b/13, p. 66, Douglas to Smith, 8 July 1856.

10 This date, not verified by certificate, appears in PABC, J.A. Grant, "An Unsung Pioneer," a compilation of inward letters to Yale.

11 Ibid.

12 N. de Bertrand Lugrin, *The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island, 1843–1866* (Vancouver: Women's Canadian Club of Victoria, 1928), p. 109.

13 HBCA, B.226/b/10, pp. 162–3, Douglas to Yale, 2 Oct. 1864. *See also* HBCA, B.113/c/1, p. 88, Douglas to Yale, 2 Oct. 1855.

14 HBCA, B.226/b/28, pp. 548–50, Tolmie to Prince Maksutov, assistant governor of the Russian colonies in America, 25 Nov. 1865.

15 HBCA, B.226/z/2, p. 321, "Invoice of Sundries property of the Hudson's Bay Company shipped on board the Steamer 'Otter', Captain Mowat, consigned to James Douglas, Esquire, December, 1855."

16 HBCA, D.4/5, pp. 49–56, Simpson to McLoughlin, 11 July 1825.

17 HBCA, B.223/d/155, p. 168, Fort Vancouver Inventory, Spring 1844.

18 Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), Vol. 4, p. 329.

19 PAC, MG29, B35, Vol. 4, Alexander Caulfield Anderson, op. cit., p. 123, "Notes and Suggestions in regard to the route via Kequeloose; from Kamloops to Fort Langley, 21 June 1847."

20 PABC, AB20, V20d, Ogden and Douglas to Yale, 28 April, 1847.

21 HBCA, B.223/b/38, p. 62, Douglas and Work to governor and council, 5 Dec. 1848.

22 Charles Wilkes, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 371, 378.

23 HBCA, B.226/b/7, pp. 30–1, Douglas to Yale, 27 Oct. 1852.

24 HBCA, D.5/6, p. 140, Anderson to Simpson, 21 Sept. 1849; HBCA, B.113/c/1, p. 44, Paul Fraser to Yale, July 1853.

25 Charles Wilkes, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 379.

26 *See* explanation of tracking on the Columbia, ibid., Vol. 4, pp. 380–1. A quantity of manilla rope was sent to Langley "to make two lines for the Batteau," HBCA, B.226/b/16, pp. 55–6, Douglas to Yale, 9 June 1858.

27 *See* "Establishing Inland Communication."

28 PABC, AB20, V20d, Ogden and Douglas to Yale, 28 April 1847.

29 HBCA, B.226/b/3, p. 107, Douglas to Yale, 7 June 1851.

30 HBCA, B.226/b/4, pp. 74–5, Douglas to Yale, 7 April 1852.

31 HBCA, B.226/b/13, pp. 15–7, Douglas to Smith, 10 July 1855.

32 Ibid., pp. 17–8, Douglas to Smith, 1 Aug. 1855.

33 Ibid., pp. 52–4, Douglas to Smith, 1 April 1856; ibid., pp. 66–8, Douglas to Smith, 8 July 1856.

34 HBCA, B.226/b/3, p. 10, Douglas to Yale, 30 Aug. 1850.

35 HBCA, B.113/z/1, p. 125, "List of Sundry Axes and other Iron work to be made at Fort Langley for the undermentioned Districts, Outfit 1852."

36 Ibid., p. 123, "List of Iron Work Required for New Caledonia, Outfit 1850, to be made at Fort Langley."

37 For some of these chores, *see* HBCA, B.226/b/3, p. 54, Douglas to Yale, 11 Feb. 1851; ibid., p. 107, Douglas to Yale, 7 June 1851; HBCA, B.226/b/12, pp. 116–7, Douglas to Yale, 23 Sept. 1856.

38 HBCA, B.223/b/3, p. 54, Douglas to Yale, 11 Feb. 1851.

39 HBCA, B.226/c/1, p. 161, Colvile to board of management, 10 July 1851.

40 HBCA, B.226/b/3, pp. 94–5, Douglas to Yale, 29 May 1851.

41 Ibid.

42 HBCA, B.226/b/4, pp. 42–3, Douglas to Yale, 13 Feb. 1852.

43 HBCA, A.12/6, pp. 130–45, Colvile to governor and council, 21 July 1852.

44 HBCA, B.226/b/4, p. 114, Douglas to Yale, 24 July 1852; HBCA, B.113/z/1, p. 37, "Invoice of Grass Seeds forwarded by Canoe to Fort Langley, July, 1850."

45 HBCA, A.11/73, p. 108, Douglas to Barclay, 17 April 1851.

46 HBCA, B.226/b/4, pp. 74–5, Douglas to Yale, 7 April 1852; PABC, B401, notes: "Mr. Yale has for exportation 450 Bushels of wheat, 150 Bushels of Pease, wants 90 barrels Flour," 27 Feb. 1854.

47 HBCA, D.5/24, pp. 415–8, Yale to Simpson, 18 Nov. 1849; HBCA, A.11/72, pp. 87–96, Douglas to Barclay, 3 Sept. 1849.

48 HBCA, D.5/24, p. 387, Douglas and Ogden to Simpson, 14 March 1849.

49 HBCA, B.226/b/12, pp. 15–6, Douglas to Yale, 2 Feb. 1856.

50 HBCA, A.11/63, p. 155, Clouston to Smith, 28 Aug. 1855; ibid., p. 104, Clouston to Barclay, 25 Dec. 1854; ibid., p. 137, Clouston to Barclay, 31 March 1855.

51 HBCA, D.4/123, pp. 118–29, McDonald to governor and council, Northern Department, 25 Feb. 1830.

52 Ibid.

53 HBCA, B.223/b/35, p. 71, Ogden and Douglas to Simpson, 15 March 1847.

54 HBCA, D.4/123, pp. 118–29, McDonald to governor and council, Northern Department, 25 Feb. 1830.

55 HBCA, B.226/b/3, p. 110, Douglas to Yale, 23 June 1851.

56 PABC, Aurelia Manson, "Reminisences of Old Langley."

57 HBCA, B.223/b/36, p. 89, Work and Douglas to governor and council, 6 Nov. 1847. This fishery was established in 1846. PAC, MG29, B35, Vol. 4, Alexander Caulfield Anderson, op. cit., p. 83.

58 HBCA, B.223/b/38, p. 61, Douglas and Work to governor and council, 5 Dec. 1848.

59 PABC, AC40, Ya2, Yale to Simpson, 22 Oct. 1852.

60 HBCA, D.5/26, pp. 418–20, Yale to Simpson, 5 Nov. 1849.

61 PABC, AC40, Ya2, Yale to Simpson, 22 Oct. 1852.

62 PABC, Aurelia Manson, op. cit.

63 "You will salt thirty Barrels or Casks salmon with the heads and backbones in the fish by way of experiment and besides cure as much as possible in the usual way," HBCA, B.223/b/18, p. 22, McLoughlin to Yale, 6 March 1837; "Fish cured with the head and backbones are not found to answer to Sandwich Island Market; you will therefore continue to cure in our old way," HBCA, B.223/b/24, pp. 13–5, Douglas to Yale, 10 May 1839.

64 HBCA, B.226/b/10, p. 68, Douglas to Yale, 3 Jan. 1854.

65 PABC, B401, memorandum from Clouston, 6 Dec. 1853; HBCA, A.11/62, p. 56, Clouston to Barclay, 19 April 1854.

66 HBCA, B.113/b/11, pp. 95–6, Douglas to Yale, 14 Dec. 1854.

67 HBCA, B.226/b/11, pp. 95–6, Douglas to Barclay, 11 Jan. 1855.

68 HBCA, A.6/31, pp. 163–4, Smith to board of management, 16 July 1855; HBCA, B.113/c/1, p. 86, Douglas to Yale, 24 Sept. 1855. Although enclosed in both documents cited above, Ricknell and Rotten's report does not appear in either series.

69 HBCA, B.113/c/1, p. 5, Clouston to Douglas, 13 Aug. 1855.

70 PABC, AB40, Ya2, Yale to Douglas, 13 Nov. 1855.

71 HBCA, B.226/b/12, pp. 27–8, Douglas to Yale, 4 Feb. 1856.

72 Ibid., pp. 15–6, Douglas to Yale, 2 Feb. 1856.

73 HBCA, B.226/z/2, p. 259, extracts from a letter from William Smith to board of management, 19 Aug. 1856.

74 HBCA, B.113/c/1, p. 107, Douglas to Yale, 11 Feb. 1857.

75 HBCA, A.11/63, p. 248, Clouston to Smith, 14 Feb. 1857.

76 HBCA, B.226/b/7, p. 5, Douglas to Yale, 13 Sept. 1852; HBCA, A.11/62, p. 36, Clouston to Barclay, 19 Dec. 1853.

77 HBCA, B.223/b/24, pp. 66–8, McLoughlin to Yale, 22 Feb. 1840.

78 HBCA, D.4/110, p. 51, Simpson to governor and council, 1 March 1842.

79 HBCA, B.226/b/7, p. 43, Douglas to Clouston, 22 Nov. 1852.

80 HBCA, B.226/b/10, p. 108, Yale to Douglas, 6 April 1854.

81 The list of servants for outfit 1850 names four coopers: John Bell, William Cromarty, Ohio and Peeohpeeoh, HBCA, B.223/d/195, p. 19. Reference to wages appears in HBCA, B.226/b/7, p. 5, Douglas to Yale, 13 Sept. 1852; HBCA, B.226/b/7, p. 43, Douglas to Yale, 25 Nov. 1852.

82 HBCA, B.223/d/181, pp. 81–7, "Inventory of New Stores, Articles in Use, and Livestock remaining on hand at Fort Vancouver, Spring 1848." The same tools as in Fort Vancouver cooper's shop appear in the Fort Langley inventories in scattered form as articles in use.

83 HBCA, B.226/b/6, pp. 79–81, Douglas to Barclay, 25 May 1852; HBCA, B.113/b/4, unnumbered, Allard to Roderick Finlayson, 30 Jan. 1872, "Cromarty is fixing the Cooper shop for a Sale Shop and a Roof has already been put on."

84 HBCA, B.226/b/4, p. 91, Douglas to Yale, 6 May 1852.

85 PAC, MG28, B35, Vol. 4, James Cooper, "Maritime matters of the Northwest Coast and Affairs of the Hudson Bay Company in Early Times" (Victoria, 1878), pp. 4–5; HBCA, A.11/73, p. 288, Douglas to Barclay, 12 July 1852.

86 HBCA, B.226/b/4, p. 91, Douglas to Yale, 6 May 1852.

87 HBCA, B.226/b/7, p. 50, Douglas to Yale, 25 Nov. 1852.

88 PABC, B401, extract from Lowe's letter of 6 Oct. 1854; HBCA, B.226/b/10, p. 178, Douglas to Yale, 7 Nov. 1854.

89 PABC, AB40, Ya2, Yale to Douglas, 13 Nov. 1855.

90 Ibid.; HBCA, B.113/z/1, p. 10, bill of lading per *Otter*, 14 Nov. 1855.

91 HBCA, B.226/b/13, pp. 46–52, Douglas to Simpson, 24 March 1855.

92 HBCA, B.226/b/12, pp. 15–6, Douglas to Yale, 2 Feb. 1856.

93 HBCA, B.226/b/13, p. 79, Douglas to Smith, 30 Sept. 1856.

94 HBCA, B.226/b/12, p. 120, Douglas to Yale, 23 Oct. 1856.

95 PABC, AB40, Ya2, Yale to Douglas, Oct. 1856.

96 PABC, AC20, Vi5, Yale to Douglas, Oct. 1856.

97 HBCA, B.226/b/15, pp. 15–6, Douglas to Smith, 3 Nov. 1857; HBCA, B.113/z/1, p. 21, bill of lading per *Otter*, 1857.

Gold Rush: Climax and Turning Point of Fort Langley's Career

1 HBCA, B.226/b/13, pp. 17–8, Douglas to W.G. Smith, 1 Aug. 1855.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., pp. 51–2, Douglas to Simpson, 24 March 1856.

4 Ibid., pp. 66–8, Douglas to Smith, 8 July 1856; ibid., pp. 70–1, Douglas to Smith, 29 July 1856.

5 Ibid., pp. 96–8, Douglas to Smith, 19 Feb. 1857.

6 HBCA, B.113/c/1, p. 110, Donald McLean to Yale, 20 Aug. 1857.

7 HBCA, B.226/b/15, pp. 2–3, Douglas to Smith, 20 July 1857; Great Britain. Parliament, *Copies or Extracts of Correspondence Relative to the Discovery of Gold in the Fraser's River District of British North America* (London: Queen's Printer, 1858) (hereafter cited as *Discovery of Gold*), p. 7, Douglas to Labouchere, 15 July 1857.

8 HBCA, B.226/b/15, p. 18, Douglas to Smith, 27 Nov. 1857.

9 Great Britain. Parliament, *Discovery of Gold*, p. 9; HBCA, B.226/b/15, p. 27, Douglas to Smith, 4 Jan. 1858.

10 HBCA, B.113/c/1, p. 113, Douglas to Yale, 26 Dec. 1857.

11 Ibid.

12 HBCA, B.223/b/15, p. 27, Douglas to Smith, 4 Jan. 1858.

13 HBCA, B.113/c/1, p. 113, Douglas to Yale, 26 Dec. 1857.

14 HBCA, B.226/b/16, pp. 1–3, Douglas to McLean, 9 Feb. 1858; ibid., pp. 4–5, Douglas to Simpson, 9 Feb. 1858.

15 Ibid., p. 16, Douglas to Simpson, 14 March 1858; ibid., p. 30, Douglas to Yale, 30 March 1858.

16 Ibid., p. 42, Douglas to Yale, 19 April 1858; PABC, AC40, Ya2, Yale to Douglas, 14 April 1858.

17 HBCA, B.226/b/15, pp. 37–9. Douglas to Smith, 18 Feb. 1858.

18 E.O.S. Scholefield and F.W. Howay, *British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present* (Vancouver: S.J. Clark, 1914) (hereafter cited as *British Columbia*), Vol. 2, p. 14.

19 Ibid., pp. 16–8; Walter N. Sage, "The Gold Colony of British Columbia," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Dec. 1921), p. 340.

20 Great Britain. Parliament, *Papers Relative to the Affairs of British Columbia* . . . (London: Queen's Printer, 1859) (hereafter cited as *Papers, British Columbia*), Pt. 1, p. 12.

21 Ibid., p. 13, Douglas to Lord Stanley, 10 June 1858; HBCA, B.226/b/15, p. 56, Douglas to Smith, 7 June 1858.

22 Ibid., pp. 49–50, Douglas to D. McTavish, 10 May 1858.

23 Ibid., pp. 45–7, Douglas to Yale, 27 April 1858; ibid., pp. 55–6, Douglas to Yale, 9 June 1858; ibid., pp. 68–70, Douglas to Smith, 23 July 1858.

24 The editor of the *Alta California* writing on "The Forts on Frazer's River" in *Harper's Weekly* (New York), 9 Oct. 1858.

25 HBCA, B.226/b/16, pp. 45–7, Douglas to Yale, 27 April 1858.

26 HBCA, B.226/b/20, p. 295, Roderick Finlayson to Thomas Fraser, 16 July 1860.

27 HBCA, B.226/b/15, pp. 49–50, Douglas to Smith, 19 April 1858.

28 Great Britain. Parliament, *Papers, British Columbia*, Pt. 1, pp. 18–9.

29 E.O.S. Scholefield and F.W. Howay, *British Columbia*, Vol. 2, p. 32.

30 Ibid., p. 30.

31 HBCA, B.226/b/15, pp. 68–70, Douglas to Smith, 23 July 1858.

32 "Letter from Fort Langley, Frazer River, 25 May 1858," *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, 5 June 1858; the "Miner's Home" is shown in A.G. Dallas's sketch of Fort Langley, 24 May 1858.

33 Letter to the editor of the *Islander* (Charlottetown, P.E.I.) by C.C. Gardiner, 17 Nov. 1858, reprinted in Robie L. Reid, ed., "To the Fraser River Mines in 1858," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Oct. 1937), pp. 243–53.

34 HBCA, B.226/b/15, pp. 68–70, Douglas to Smith, 23 July 1858.

35 HBCA, B.226/b/17, p. 173, Work to Thomas Fraser, 25 May 1859.

36 The question of whether Douglas as chief factor or Douglas as governor dominated events in 1858 seems irrelevant. For 37 years the Hudson's Bay Company was the only British presence on the mainland. Assertion of Company rights was an assertion of British supremacy, before and during 1858. Douglas expresses this belief in several communications with Lytton. *See* Great Britain. Parliament, *Papers, British Columbia*, Pt. 1, pp. 33–5, 36–7, Douglas to Lytton, 9 Sept. 1858 and Douglas to Lytton, 30 Sept. 1858.

37 Ibid., p. 14, Douglas to Lytton, 10 June 1858.

38 Ibid., p. 42, Lytton to Douglas, 16 July 1858.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid., p. 43, Lytton to Douglas, confidential, 16 July 1858.

41 Ibid., pp. 1–2, "An Act to Provide for the Government of British Columbia," 21 & 22 Vict. cap. 99, 2 Aug. 1858.

42 Ibid., pp. 3–5, "Letters Patent Under the Great Seal appointing James Douglas, Esquire, to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Colony of British Columbia and its Dependencies," 2 Sept. 1858.

43 Ibid., p. 9, "Copy of an Instrument, under the Royal Sign Manual, revoking so much of the Crown Grant of 30 May 1838, to the Hudson's Bay Company, for exclusive Trading with the Indians, as relates to the Territories comprised within the Colony of British Columbia," 2 Sept. 1858.

44 Ibid., p. 53, Lytton to Douglas, 2 Sept. 1858.

45 Ibid., Pt. 2, p. 25, Douglas to Lytton, 8 Nov. 1858; ibid., p. 26, Douglas to Lytton, 9 Nov. 1858.

46 Ibid., p. 34, Douglas to Lytton, 27 Nov. 1858.

47 *Victoria Gazette*, 25 Nov. 1858.

48 For detailed information on the development of transportation in the colony, *see* Angus McLeod Gunn, "Gold and the Early Settlement of British Columbia, 1858–1885" (MA thesis, Univ. of British Columbia, 1965), pp. 43–63.

49 HBCA, B.226/b/19, pp. 9–11, Dallas to Yale, 7 March 1859.

50 Ibid., p. 1, Dallas to Yale, 16 Feb. 1859; HBCA, B.226/b/17, p. 173, Work to Thomas Fraser, 25 May 1859.

51 Dorothy Blakey Smith, "The First Capital of British Columbia: Langley or New Westminster?," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 21, Nos. 1–4 (Jan. 1957–Oct. 1958), p. 21.

52 Ibid., pp. 33–7.

53 Ibid., p. 38.

54 The capital, initially called Queensborough, was officially given the name New Westminster on 20 July 1859. Ibid., p. 40.

The Twilight Years

1 HBCA, B.226/b/18, p. 29, Tolmie to W.H. Newton, 30 Jan. 1860; ibid., p. 90, Dugald McTavish to G. Blenkinsop, 31 July 1860; ibid., pp. 94–5, Tolmie to Newton, 7 Aug. 1860.

2 Ibid.

3 HBCA, A.11/78, p. 272, McTavish to Dallas, 20 Dec. 1861.

4 HBCA, B.226/b/20, pp. 128–9, Work to Thomas Fraser, 7 April 1860.

5 HBCA, B.226/b/18, p. 41, board of management to C.J.R. Bedford, 28 March 1860; ibid., p. 78, Tolmie to Blenkinsop, 6 July 1860.

6 Ibid., p. 69, Tolmie to Blenkinsop, 8 June 1860; ibid., pp. 95–6, Tolmie to Newton, 10 Aug. 1860; HBCA, B.226/b/22, p. 86, McTavish to Newton, 13 Feb. 1861; HBCA, B.226/b/22, p. 107, McTavish to Newton, 19 March 1861.

7 HBCA, B.226/b/22, pp. 42–3, McTavish to Newton, 11 Dec. 1860.

8 HBCA, B.226/b/18, p. 58, Tolmie to Blenkinsop, 26 May 1860.

9 HBCA, B.226/b/22, p. 107, McTavish to Newton, 19 March 1861; HBCA, A.11/78, p. 270, McTavish to Dallas, 20 Dec. 1861.

10 HBCA, B.226/b/22, p. 204, Tolmie to Newton, 1 Oct. 1861.

11 HBCA, B.226/b/25, p. 884, Tolmie to Newton, 18 May 1863; HBCA, A.11/124, p. 149, Tolmie to Fraser, 12 Nov. 1863; HBCA, B.226/b/23, p. 107, Finlayson to Newton, 25 March 1864.

12 PABC, AC15, V66D, extract of a letter from Lytton to Douglas, 16 Nov. 1858, quoted in Dallas to Douglas, 8 Nov. 1860.

13 HBCA, B.226/z/1, pp. 63–5, Memorandum on the British Columbia Land Claims, Emigration Commission, 11 Oct. 1861.

14 HBCA, B.226/b/21, p. 932, Tolmie to Capt. H.R. Luard, RE, 5 March 1863. These tracings were not found in the HBCA. The survey of fort lot 19, made by Capt. Leech and Sgt. William McColl on 17 Sept. 1862 was discovered by the Provincial Archives of British Columbia in 1956.

15 HBCA, B.226/b/21, p. 932, Tolmie to Luard, 5 March 1863; PABC, CB30.71, H86, C. Brew to Charles Good (acting colonial secretary), 10 Feb. 1864.

16 HBCA, B.226/b/23, p. 472, Tolmie to Newton, 15 Feb. 1864.

17 HBCA, H./6, p. 3, "Statement of Lands belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company in the Western Department on 31 Jan. 1868." The recorded distinction between crown grants of 702 acres and the crown conveyance of 1,500 acres refutes F.W. Laing's contention that the Hudson's Bay Company may have been granted all the land at Langley. *See* his article, "Hudson's Bay Company Lands on the Main-Land of British Columbia, 1858–1861," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (April 1939), p. 93.

18 Allard was appointed in May but did not arrive at Langley until October. HBCA, B.226/b/23, p. 130, Finlayson to Newton, 2 May 1864.

19 HBCA, B.226/b/26, pp. 121–2, Finlayson to Allard, 9 June 1865; HBCA, B.226/b/28, p. 598, Finlayson to Allard, 9 Jan. 1866.

20 HBCA, B.226/b/28, p. 957, Finlayson to Allard, 18 July 1866; HBCA, B.226/b/34, p. 80, Finlayson to Smith, 2 Feb. 1867.

21 HBCA, B.113/b/3, p. 38, Allard to board of management, 15 Nov. 1869; ibid., p. 46, Allard to board of management, 8 March 1870.

22 HBCA, B.226/b/26, p. 139, Finlayson to Allard, 3 July 1865; HBCA, B.226/b/28, p. 919, Tolmie to Allard, 2 July 1866.

23 HBCA, A.11/124, p. 149, Tolmie to Fraser, 12 Nov. 1863.

24 HBCA, B.226/b/39, pp. 110–2, Tolmie to Fraser, 10 March 1865; HBCA, A.11/80, pp. 309–10, Tolmie to Fraser, 27 Nov. 1865; HBCA, B.226/b/39, pp. 236–42, Tolmie to Fraser, 16 Dec. 1865.

25 HBCA, B.226/b/28, p. 919, Tolmie to Allard, 2 July 1866.

26 HBCA, A.11/80, pp. 336–7, Tolmie to Fraser, 20 Dec. 1865; ibid., p. 388, Tolmie to Fraser, 12 Feb. 1866.

27 Ibid., pp. 607–9, Tolmie to Fraser, 23 Oct. 1866.

28 HBCA, B.226/b/39, p. 424, Tolmie to Fraser, 29 April 1867.

29 HBCA, B.226/b/34, p. 199, Tolmie to Smith, 6 Dec. 1867.

30 Ibid.

31 HBCA, B.113/b/2, pp. 21–2, Allard to board of management, 3 March 1868; ibid., p. 24, Allard to board of management, 31 March 1868.

32 HBCA, B.226/b/36, p. 118, Tolmie to Allard, 16 June 1868.

33 HBCA, B.113/b/3, p. 39, Allard to board of management, 23 Nov. 1869.

34 HBCA, B.113/b/2, pp. 44–5, Allard to board of management, 8 Sept. 1868.

35 HBCA, B.113/b/4, Allard to Finlayson, 11 Oct. 1871.

36 Ibid., Allard to Finlayson, 30 Jan. 1872.

37 Ibid., Allard to Finlayson, 22 Feb. 1872; ibid., Allard to James A. Grahame, 24 June 1872; ibid., Allard to Grahame, 2 Sept. 1872; ibid., Allard to Grahame, 28 Sept. 1872.

38 HBCA, B.226/c/3, p. 12, sketch by Mrs. W.H. Newton enclosed in James MacKie to John Jessop, 21 April 1873.

39 HBCA, B.113/b/2, pp. 16–7, Allard to board of management, 18 Dec. 1867; *see also* HBCA, B.113/b/2, pp. 44–5, Allard to board of management, 8 Sept. 1868.

40 HBCA, B.226/b/34, p. 148, Tolmie to Smith, 14 Aug. 1867; HBCA, B.226/b/38, p. 73, Tolmie to Allard, 19 April 1869; HBCA, B.113/b/3, p. 26, Allard to board of management, 13 July 1869.

41 HBCA, B.226/b/34, p. 148, Tolmie to Smith, 14 Aug. 1867.

42 Ibid.; HBCA, B.113/b/3, p. 34, Allard to board of management, 5 Oct. 1869; HBCA, B.226/b/41, p. 58, Tolmie to Allard, 11 Nov. 1869.

43 HBCA, B.226/b/43, p. 58, Finlayson to Smith, 2 Sept. 1870.

44 HBCA, B.113/b/3, p. 71, Allard to Finlayson, 4 Oct. 1870.

45 *Mainland Guardian* (New Westminster), 5 April 1871.

46 HBCA, B.113/b/3, p. 86, Allard to Grahame, 21 April 1871.

47 "I have at the Fort about 9 acres wheat; 7 acres Oats, 2 acres Pease, 2-1/2 acres potatoes and turnips and 14 acres timothy hay under cultivation this year besides the usual quantity of garden stuffs." HBCA, B.113/b/3, p. 84, Allard to Finlayson, 27 March 1871.

48 HBCA, B.226/b/43, p. 96, Finlayson to William Armit, 4 Oct. 1871.

49 Ibid., pp. 60–1, Finlayson to Smith, 21 Oct. 1870.

50 Ibid., p. 81, Finlayson to Armit, 30 June 1871; HBCA, B.226/b/45, p. 316, Grahame to Armit, 9 Sept. 1872.

51 HBCA, B.226/b/43, p. 81, Finlayson to Armit, 30 June 1871.

52 Ibid., p. 453, Grahame to Armit, 9 Sept. 1873.

53 HBCA, B.113/b/3, pp. 79–80, Allard to Finlayson, 19 Jan. 1871.

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55 HBCA, A.11/88, p. 418, Charles to Armit, 18 Sept. 1875.

56 HBCA, A.11/89, p. 30, Charles to Armit, 30 Sept. 1876.

57 Ibid., p. 133, Munro to Armit, 30 Sept. 1876; ibid., p. 125, Charles to Armit, 30 Sept. 1876.

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59 HBCA, B.226/c/3, p. 308, Armit to Charles, 3 Nov. 1876.

60 HBCA, A.11/89, pp. 243–4, Munro to Armit, 30 May 1877.

61 HBCA, D.14/3, p. 453, Grahame to Munro, 26 Aug. 1877.

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66 HBCA, A.11/89, pp. 346–7, Munro to Armit, 19 Jan. 1878; HBCA, D.14/4, p. 119, Grahame to Munro, 14 Feb. 1878.

67 *Mainland Guardian* (New Westminster), 1 June 1878.

68 HBCA, A.11/89, pp. 466–7, Munro to Armit, 19 June 1878.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid., p. 539, Charles to Armit, 10 Oct. 1878; HBCA, B.226/b/52, p. 87, Charles to Armit, 30 Sept. 1879; HBCA, B.226/b/52, p. 184, Charles to Armit, 9 Oct. 1880.

71 HBCA, A.11/91, p. 114, Charles to Armit, 9 Nov. 1882.

72 Ibid., p. 410, Charles to Armit, 31 Oct. 1884.

73 Ibid.
74 HBCA, A.11/92, p. 400, Munro to Armit, 19 Feb. 1886; PAC, RG3, Vol. 7, E.H. Fletcher (post office inspector) to postmaster general, 23 Jan. 1886.
75 HBCA, A.11/92, pp. 304–5, Smith to Armit, 18 Dec. 1885.
76 Ibid.
77 HBCA, B.226/b/55, pp. 139–40, Smith to Joseph Wrigley, 24 Feb. 1886. The location of the buildings is specified in HBCA, A.79/2, pp. 110–1, Sales Shop Inventory, Outfit 1893.
78 HBCA, B.226/b/55, p. 157, Smith to Wrigley, 29 March 1886.
79 HBCA, B.226/b/58, p. 214, Munro to Wark, 15 April 1886.
80 HBCA, B.226/b/65b, p. 214, Smith to Wrigley, 2 Dec. 1887.
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88 HBCA, B.226/b/55, p. 157, Smith to Wrigley, 29 March 1886; HBCA, B.226/b/65b, pp. 213–6, Smith to Wrigley, 2 Dec. 1887.
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92 Ibid.
93 HBCA, B.226/b/62, p. 308, Smith to Drummond, 5 Jan. 1888; ibid., p. 598, Smith to Drummond, 11 April 1888.
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99 HBCA, B.226/b/73, pp. 107–9, Smith to Armit, 14 May 1890.
100 HBCA, A.74/1, pp. 248–9, Sales Shop Annual Report, Outfit 1891, R.H. Hall to C.C. Chipman, 26 Dec. 1892.
101 Ibid.
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103 HBCA, B.226/b/81, p. 620, Hall to Chipman, 19 Dec. 1892; HBCA, B.226/c/7, p. 653, Chipman to Hall, 24 Dec. 1892.
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105 Ibid., p. 181, Hall to Powell, 3 Feb. 1893; HBCA, A.75/2, p. 25a, Report of Sales Shops for the year ending 31 May 1894.
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107 HBCA, A.75/4, p. 18, Report on Sales Shops for the year ending 31 May 1896.
108 HBCA, H1/7, folios unnumbered, Table of Sales of Hudson's Bay Company Land at Langley.
109 HBCA, A.12/5, Misc./451, Chipman to Ware, 5 July 1901.
110 HBCA, A.12/5, Misc./451, Chipman to Ware, 18 May 1896.

Appendix A. Report on Fort Langley, 1830, by Archibald McDonald.

1 HBCA, D.4/123, pp. 66–72, McDonald to the governor and council, Northern Department, 25 Feb. 1830.

Appendix B. Reminiscences of Fort Langley by Aurelia Manson (Daughter of James Murray Yale).

1 PABC, Aurelia Manson, op. cit.

Appendix C. Memories of Fort Langley by Jason O. Allard.

1 Jason O. Allard, Reminiscences, *Daily Province* (Vancouver), 25 Oct. 1924, p. 24.

Appendix D. Table of Fur Returns, Fort Langley, 1827–65.

1 PABC, AB20, V3A; HBCA, B.226/b/38, p. 314.

Appendix E. Salmon Cured at Fort Langley, 1830–73.

1 The table of salmon cured at Fort Langley is compiled from figures from the following sources:
1830 PABC, AB40, M142A, McDonald to Ermatinger, 20 Feb. 1831.
1831 Ibid., McDonald to McLeod, 15 Jan. 1832.
1833 HBCA, B.223/d/51, p. 14.
1834 HBCA, B.223/d/69, pp. 5, 18.
1835 HBCA, B.223/d/79, pp. 3, 5, 6.
1836 HBCA, B.223/d/90, pp. 9, 23.
1837 HBCA, B.223/b/20, p. 78; HBCA, B.223/d/97, pp. 15, 22.
1838 HBCA, B.223/d/114, p. 18.
1839 HBCA, D.5/5, pp. 239a–239b; HBCA, B.223/d/124, pp. 4, 22, 23.
1840 PAC, MG24, A35, p. 52; HBCA, B.223/b/27, p. 59; HBCA, B.223/d/134, pp. 42, 43.
1841 HBCA, D.5/6, p. 198.
1842 HBCA, A.12/2, p. 190; HBCA, B.223/b/30, p. 18.
1843 HBCA, B.223/b/30, p. 28; HBCA, B.223/b/31, pp. 113, 114.
1844 HBCA, D.5/12, pp. 592–3; HBCA, B.223/b/31, p. 119.
1845 HBCA, D.5/15, pp. 570–2; HBCA, B.223/b/35, p. 16.
1846 HBCA, A.12/3, pp. 464–5; HBCA, D.5/20, p. 522; HBCA, B.223/b/34, p. 39.
1847 HBCA, B.223/b/36, p. 89; HBCA, B.223/b/34, p. 39.
1848 HBCA, B.223/b/38, p. 61; HBCA, D.5/24, p. 382.
1849 HBCA, A.11/72, p. 94; HBCA, A.11/62, p. 422.
1850 HBCA, D.5/29, p. 413; HBCA, A.11/73, p. 84; HBCA, A.11/73, p. 129.
1851 HBCA, B.226/b/6, p. 16; HBCA, B.226/b/3, p. 67; HBCA, A.11/62, p. 648.
1852 HBCA, B.226/b/6, p. 181; ibid., pp. 166–70; HBCA, B.226/b/7, p. 50; HBCA, A.11/73, p. 50; HBCA, A.11/73, p. 552; HBCA, B.113/c/1, p. 37.
1853 HBCA, A.11/74, pp. 337–8; HBCA, B.226/b/10, p. 108; HBCA, A.11/63, pp. 32, 33.
1854 HBCA, B.113/c/1, p. 61; HBCA, B.226/b/11, pp.

95–6; HBCA, B.113/c/1, p. 86.
1855 HBCA, A.11/63, pp. 182, 185, 214.
1856 HBCA, B.113/z/1, p. 16; ibid., p. 17; HBCA, A.11/63, p. 234.
1857 HBCA, A.11/63, p. 291.
1860 Ibid., p. 567.
1865 HBCA, B.226/b/28, p. 598.
1866 HBCA, B.226/b/32, p. 1.
1867 HBCA, B.113/b/2, p. 3; HBCA, B.226/b/32, p. 92; HBCA, B.226/b/34, pp. 167–8.
1868 HBCA, B.226/b/38, pp. 21–2.
1869 HBCA, B.113/b/3, pp. 26–7.
1870 Ibid., pp. 66–70.
1871 Ibid., p. 92.
1873 HBCA, B.226/b/47, p. 321.

Appendix F. Cranberry Returns of Fort Langley, 1852–58.

1 The summary of Fort Langley cranberry returns is extracted from the following documents:
1853 HBCA, B.226/b/13, p. 49.
1854 HBCA, B.226/b/10, p. 178; PABC, B401, extract from Lowe's letter of 6 Oct. 1854.
1855 HBCA, B.113/z/1, p. 10; HBCA, B.226/b/13, pp. 33–4, 36–7; HBCA, A.11/63, p. 182.
1856 HBCA, B.113/z/1, p. 19; HBCA, B.226/b/13, p. 79.
1857 HBCA, B.113/z/1, p. 21.

Appendix G. The Physical Appearance of Fort Langley – A Brief Look.

1 HBCA, D.4/121, p. 18, Aemilius Simpson to McLoughlin, Nov. 1827.
2 PABC, Fort Langley Journal, p. 8, 29 July 1827.
3 HBCA, D.4/121, pp. 14-5, McMillan to McLoughlin, 14 Sept. 1827.
4 PABC, Fort Langley Journal, pp. 10–21, 1 Aug.–8 Sept. 1827.
5 Ibid., p. 16, 22 Aug. 1827; HBCA, D.4/121, pp. 14–5, McMillan to McLoughlin, 14 Sept. 1827.
6 PABC, Fort Langley Journal, p. 21, 8 Sept. 1827.
7 For further details on this form of construction, *see* Marius Barbeau, "The House that Mac Built," *The Beaver*, Outfit 276 (Dec. 1945), pp. 10–3.
8 PABC, Fort Langley Journal, p. 21, 9 Sept. 1827.
9 Ibid., pp. 21–3, 10–5, Sept. 1827.
10 Ibid., pp. 23–4, 27–9, 19, 22, 23, 27 Sept., 3, 4, 6, 13 Oct. 1827.
11 Ibid., p. 26, 3 Oct. 1827.
12 Ibid., p. 27, 6 Oct. 1827.
13 Ibid., p. 40, 19 Dec. 1827; ibid., p. 50, 4 March 1828.
14 Ibid., pp. 31–2, 34–5, 22, 24 Oct., 7, 14 Nov. 1827; ibid., p. 47, 15 Feb. 1828.
15 Ibid., p. 49, 27 Feb. 1828.
16 Ibid., pp. 63, 67, 23, 30 May 1828; ibid., p. 67, 24, 27 June 1828; ibid., p. 78, 9 Sept. 1828.
17 Ibid., pp. 61–3, 66, 77–8, 15, 20, 24 May, 28 June, 5, 9 Sept. 1828.
18 Archibald McDonald, op. cit., pp. 38–9.
19 PABC, Fort Langley Journal, pp. 89, 91–2, 12, 20, 28 Nov., 1 Dec. 1828.
20 Ibid., pp. 95, 98, 100, 127, 132, 16, 29 Dec. 1828, 7 Jan., 30 May, 13 June 1829.
21 Ibid., pp. 87, 88, 132, 3, 5, 8 Nov. 1828, 27 June 1829.
22 Ibid., pp. 93, 124, 132, 3 Dec. 1828, 28 April, 27 June 1829.
23 Ibid., p. 130, 153, 155, 172, 15 June, 5, 15, 30 Dec. 1829, 16 June 1830.
24 HBCA, D.4/121, pp. 67–72, McDonald to governor and council, 25 Feb. 1830.
25 HBCA, A.11/69, p. 79, Douglas to governor and committee, 14 Oct. 1839.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.; HBCA, D.5/5, p. 239, Yale to Simpson, 15 Jan. 1840.
29 HBCA, B.223/b/38, p. 28, Yale to McLoughlin, 15 April 1840.
30 PAC, MG24, A35, p. 8, 1 May 1840.
31 Ibid.
32 A study of the structure of this fort was undertaken prior to the 1958 restoration. It was based on contemporary Fort Langley information and knowledge of fur-trade architecture. *See* J. Calder Peeps, "Fort Langley, B.C., A Preliminary Survey of the Physical Structure," manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1953.
33 *See* Appendix A.
34 HBCA, D.4/110, p. 21, Simpson to governor and council, 25 Nov. 1841.
35 Although the diameter of the pickets was assumed to be about 18 inches by the architect responsible for the 1958 restoration, archaeological excavations at the site in August 1970 gave evidence of posts approximately one foot in diameter. *See* James V. Chism, "A Preliminary Report on the August, 1970 Excavations at Fort Langley, B.C.," manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1970.
36 *See* Appendix B.
37 Charles William Wilson, *Mapping the Frontier; Charles Wilson's Diary of the Survey of the 49th Parallel, 1858-1862, while Secretary of the British Boundary Commission*, ed. and intro. George F. Stanley (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970), p. 53.
38 *See* Allard's reminiscences in Appendix C; Robie L. Reid, ed., op. cit., pp. 243–53, *Victoria Gazette* , 25 Nov. 1858.
39 "The Forts of Frazer's River," *Harper's Weekly* (New York), 9 Oct. 1858.
40 HBCA, B.223/b/16, p. 46, Douglas to Yale, 27 April 1858; HBCA, B.226/b/20, pp. 293–6, Finlayson to Fraser, 16 July 1860.
41 HBCA, B.113/z/1, p. 130, "Specifications of Work to be done at Fort Langley Sale Shop by Daniel Fowler Adams, 20 April 1858."
42 HBCA, A.11/73, pp. 462-3, Douglas to Barclay, 25 May 1852.
43 HBCA, B.113/b/4, page unnumbered, Allard to Finlayson, 30 Jan. 1872.
44 HBCA, B.226/b/16, p. 46, Douglas to Yale, 27 April 1858.
45 N. de Bertrand Lugrin, op. cit., p. 109.
46 HBCA, B.226/b/16, p. 46, Douglas to Yale, 27 April 1858.
47 Charles Wilson, op. cit., p. 37.
48 PABC, AB20, V20d, Douglas and Ogden to Yale, 23 March 1848.
49 The special arrangement the Company made to have a resident boatbuilder at Fort Langley would also suggest a workshop for that purpose.
50 HBCA, B.226/b/16, p. 46, Douglas to Yale, 27 April 1858. Referring to the residence northwest of the Big House, Douglas states, "the Shop door will have to be cut, about the centre of the building in that

end next the kitchen." This would locate the kitchen somewhere in the southwest corner of the fort.

51 HBCA, B.113/b/4, page unnumbered, Allard to Finlayson, 11 Oct. 1871.

52 HBCA, D.5/24, p. 415, Yale to Simpson, 10 Jan. 1844.

53 HBCA, B.223/b/18, p. 16, Tolmie to Newton, 14 Dec. 1859.

54 HBCA, D.5/24, p. 415, Yale to Simpson, 10 Jan. 1844; ibid., p. 415d, Yale to Simpson, 18 Nov. 1849.

55 HBCA, A.11/78, pp. 265–72, McTavish to Dallas, 20 Dec. 1861.

56 HBCA, B.226/b/26, p. 139, Finlayson to Allard, 3 July 1865; HBCA, B.226/b/28, p. 919, Tolmie to Allard, 2 July 1866.

57 HBCA, B.113/b/4, page unnumbered, Allard to Finlayson, 11 Oct. 1871; ibid., Allard to Finlayson, 30 Jan. 1872.

58 Ibid., Allard to Grahame, 24 June 1872.

59 HBCA, A.11/92, page unnumbered, T.R. Smith to Armit, 18 Dec. 1885; HBCA, B.226/b/58, p. 214, Munro to Wark, 15 April 1886.

Appendix H. Descriptions of Langley Farm.

1 HBCA, B.113/z/2, pages unnumbered, Fort Langley, Miscellaneous Papers, 1877–78.

2 HBCA, B.226/z/5, pp. 376–82.

Appendix I. Record of Land Sales of Fort and Farm Lots.

1 HBCA, H1/7, pages unnumbered.

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This list of documents is restricted to those used in the foregoing report with some exceptions in the sub-listings of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. The Company has organized its material according to section (A), class (12), and pieces (19–34) – hence, A.12/19–34. To simplify the bibliography, the author has listed all the pieces consulted under any one section and class although each specific piece may not appear in the report. Pre-1870 Company documentation was consulted on microfilm in the Public Archives of Canada, post-1870 sources at Beaver House, London.

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AB40, M142A, Archibald McDonald, Correspondence Out
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Ranch Houses of the Alberta Foothills

by L.G. Thomas

Canadian Historic Sites
No. 20

125 **Abstract**
125 **Ranch Houses of the Alberta Foothills**

Abstract

The architecture, furnishings and grounds of ranch houses of the Sheep Creek area of southern Alberta are described in this paper. Particular reference is made to Cottonwoods, reportedly the earliest frame house in the area, built by the Austin family in the early 1890s and sold to the writer's family in 1910. The Gate Ranch house, a log house built in successive stages like most log ranch houses of the area, is also discussed, as is the Viewfield Ranch house, built wholly of stone, the only house so constructed in the Sheep Creek area.

Submitted for publication, 1974, by L.G. Thomas, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Ranch Houses of the Alberta Foothills

An increasing interest in the social history of the Canadian West gives a significance to the domesticities of the region's early settlers that might a generation earlier have been dismissed by the scholar as totally irrelevant or at most merely amusing or picturesque. In spite of diligent collecting by institutions, groups and individuals, the number of adequately authenticated artifacts is comparatively small. There has been little written on their provenance or their relationship to one another in their daily use, and farm and ranch houses, even some built as late as the early 1920s, have in many cases perished or, more often, fallen into ruin or disuse. Even where there has been an intelligent and careful attempt to recreate the setting of a pioneer room, the product often seems to the observing eye, no matter how sympathetic or perceptive, sadly unconvincing as a means of transmitting historical knowledge to the beholder. It may be that the weakness of the exhibit arises not from the use of the wrong materials, but from an absence of information about the social history of the period and locality portrayed. The contriver of the exhibit is certainly not to be blamed if his tableau fails to come alive; the onus rests on the historian who has failed to record and even more to interpret the past in a way that conveys to his audience the kind of sensitivity to the implications of a piece of china or the hang of a curtain that converts an object into a visual, emotional and intellectual excursion into the past.

Recent studies have begun to illuminate and indeed to reinterpret the past of the ranching community in southern Alberta. They view it as an experience that, although related to large-scale stock raising in North America and indeed in the world at large, was at the same time uniquely Canadian, significant not only for the locality but also for the region and for the nation. The uniqueness of the ranching community in terms of its economic and governmental relationships has been convincingly demonstrated; the impact of these relationships upon the social development of southern Alberta has been less fully explored. In such an exploration, the houses in which the ranchers lived, the way they were equipped and the way they functioned in relation to the ranch buildings and to the world outside are all relevant.

This paper, the reader should be warned, is very much the product of the personal experience of the writer. He grew up in the Alberta foothills in the years between the wars, in a district that lay on the northern fringe of the ranching country not very far, even by team or on horseback, from the urban influences of Calgary, which were felt in this area as early as the 1880s. The nearest town was Okotoks (previously known as Sheep Creek and, briefly, as Dewdney) on the north side of Sheep Creek. Most of the

1 Cottonwoods circa 1911. My father had completed his additions, but little had been done to the garden except for a rudimentary fence. The horns, possibly antelope, were a popular form of ornament. (*L.G. Thomas Collection.*)

families who settled along the north side of the valley of Sheep Creek before 1914 called themselves ranchers though they were really small stockmen. The overwhelming majority were of United Kingdom origin though a few well-connected families from continental Europe contributed a cosmopolitan note and fitted easily and creatively into the life of the valley. An even more overwhelming majority shared a passionate addiction to horses, and polo, racing and the gymkhana lingered even after the war of 1914–18 dealt its shattering blow to the polite society of the Alberta foothills, if such a society ever existed. The majority of the prewar arrivals had at least a sentimental attachment to the Millarville church. Christ Church, uniquely built of vertical logs, survives as the most important architectural relic of the community's past.

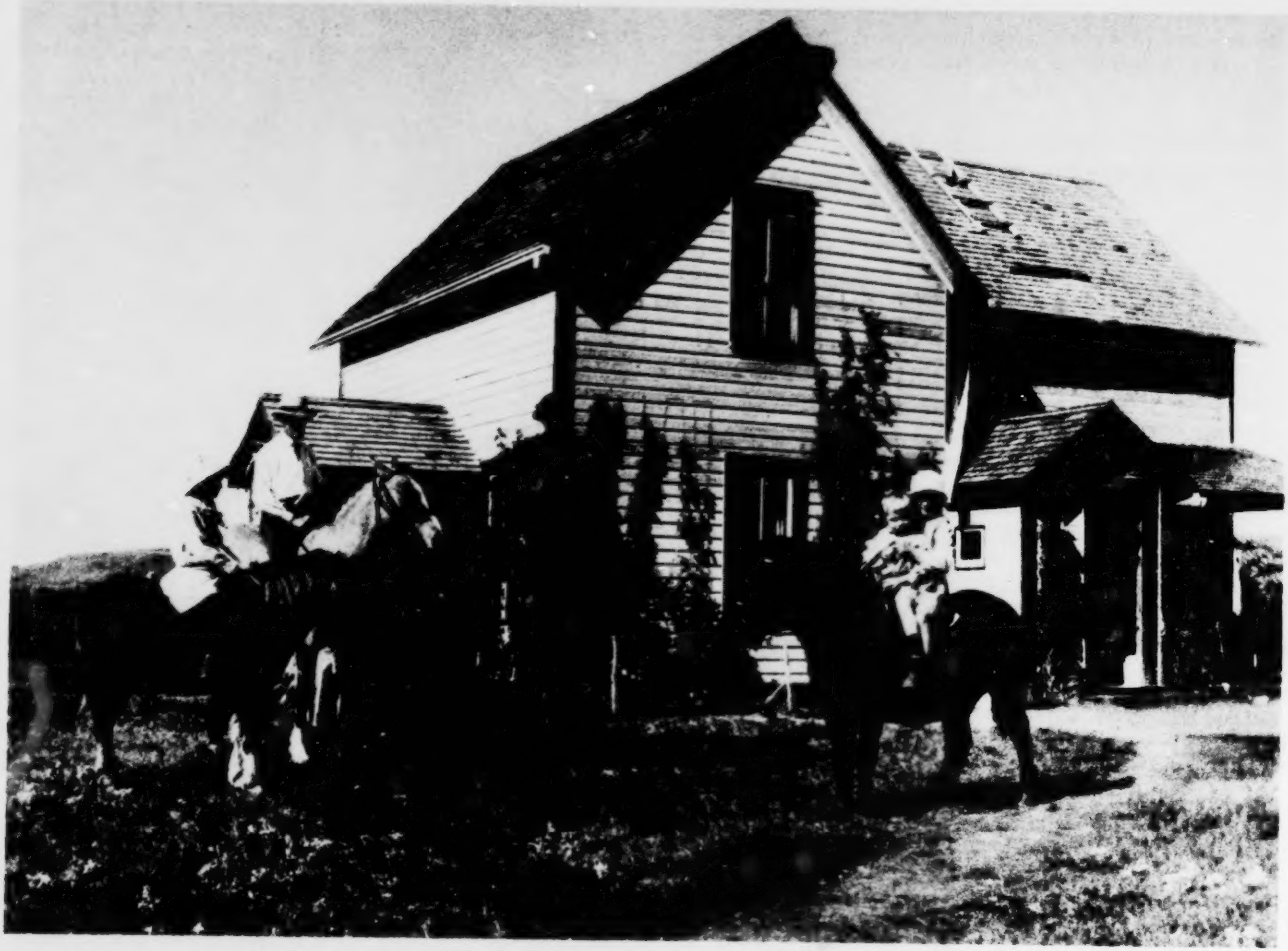
Cottonwoods, the house in which the author was born, was built in the early 1890s by the Austins, one of the relatively few Eastern Canadian families to settle as early as this and as far west of Okotoks. George Frederick Austin, a retired surveyor, probably from the Ottawa valley, came to homestead in 1885, accompanied by his much younger wife, the intensely musical daughter of a clergyman, and his son, Edmund. The house they built is reported to be the earliest frame house, as distinct from a log house, to be built in this part of the foothills. The site of the original log house, slightly to the west of the existing frame house, may still be distinguished. It was burned about 1910 as a sanitary precaution: it was infested by bedbugs. The site successfully resisted the archaeological fumblings of a young boy inspired by the exploits of Dr. Schliemann of Troy.

The frame house, originally consisting of two ground-floor rooms each about 16 feet square, with bedrooms above, is T-shaped and each part has a steeply sloping roof (Fig. 1). It is believed to have been built in two stages, with the kitchen that forms the stem of the T added to the original living room, now the dining room of the house. The stairs rise steeply from the latter room, and the locations of the outside entrance to the cellar and of a trap door, long unused, in the dining room floor suggest that this room and the bedrooms above formed the dwelling unit for the family at least for a short time. The difference in interior finishing of the two bedrooms above the dining room and the two above the kitchen also suggests that the house was built in two stages as the latter (and presumably later) are almost entirely finished in conventional lath and plaster and milled lumber like the two downstairs rooms, while the inside walls of the former and the doors into them are of wide plank. The two bedrooms over the kitchen (though not the door to the fairly large linen closet that, except for a landing or corridor, occupies the rest of this floorspace) have conventional doors and locks rather than latches. The doors on the ground floor differ in style and though some of these have been moved from their position of 1910 when the house passed from the possession of the original owners to that of the writer's family, this seems to confirm that the house was built in stages.

The chimney, most of its original brick still intact, is of a yellowish-brown brick, quite unlike the red brick made not far away at Sandstone, just west of Okotoks. (It reminds the writer of the brick of old houses in Calgary and indeed, subject to confirmation, of the brick used by W.R. Hull to build the substantial ranch house on Fish Creek, east of Midnapore, which later passed into the possession of Patrick Burns and was more recently extended and restored by the latter's great-nephew, Richard Burns.) The chimney runs up the south wall of the kitchen, the common wall between the two original rooms. If the kitchen were built later than the dining room, the chimney, if built as part of the first unit, must have been on an outside wall. This may seem unlikely as the chimney is not brick-built to ground level, but rests on a timber frame. The latter opens to the kitchen and, with a shelf half-way up and just behind the kitchen stove, still forms a convenient airing-cupboard. A door out of the kitchen into a small pantry under the stairs presents a puzzle as it is of the same plank construction as doors in the bedrooms above the dining room. In 1910 the cellar steps were reached by a trap door in the middle of the kitchen floor. They were moved to the pantry in the interests of safety. If the door to the pantry were put in while the first section was in use as a dwelling, it would have served little purpose and caused a draught formidable even to hardier and more youthful pioneers than the original owners of Cottonwoods.

The T-shaped floor plan, steeply pitched roof and frame construction are common on the prairies not only of western Canada but also of the United States and, for the late 19th and early 20th centuries, might almost be called "typical." The house is also evocative of those built in the later 19th century in the Ottawa valley, with which the Austin family had associations. Its outlines are perhaps less grimly Gothic and more comfortably Georgian than is characteristic of the style, but this impression may be due to the setting in what has become a grove of tall trees, most of them Russian poplar planted about 1930. Certainly the earliest snapshots suggest a bleaker line.

The impression may also owe something to the later additions (Figs. 1–4). These, a sitting room (the term commonly used by most of the Sheep Creek settlers, "drawing room" being too pretentious and "lounge" not having achieved its later vogue in the United Kingdom), an adjoining sun porch, an entrance porch, a verandah, at first open but later screened, and a "toy house," 2 Cottonwoods from the southeast, circa 1915. By this time the verandah had been added and the hops had begun to assert themselves. (*L.G. Thomas Collection.*)



3 The verandah on the southeast of Cottonwoods, circa 1916. The butter-making equipment is believed to have been brought by the previous owners from Ontario in 1885. (*L.G. Thomas Collection.*)

4 Siding and corner details of the south-east angle of Cottonwoods, circa 1916. The plant is probably a Scarlet Lynchis, known to us as "Mrs. Scott's plant." (*L.G. Thomas Collection.*)

3

4

now used for storage, on the north, were added to provide additional amenities. Most of these assumed their present form as the result of alterations in 1928–29 when the sitting room and sun porch were added though the "toy house" and the porches at the front (south) and back (east) doors were built in 1910 when the property changed hands. Though the porches also served as cloakrooms and as storage space for indoor and outdoor tools and for the tennis net and racquets, their primary function was to protect the inner doors and those who used them against the weather. The small verandah was added about 1912 to provide a protected outdoor play-space.

The effect of these alterations and additions was to give Cottonwoods a distinctive character (Figs. 6, 7). This arises, in the writer's view, from the way in which the roof lines of the additions echo the line of the roofs of the original T and the shed roof of the sun porch and sitting room. This was, I am confident, a fortuitous rather than a contrived effect. The basic pressure for the additions came from my mother who knew what she wanted and undoubtedly, if the success of her room arrangements is a criterion, had an eye for the relationship of shapes as well as for colour and texture. Though she sketched in pen and pencil and painted a little in watercolours and in oils, it would not have occurred to her that her talents would extend to producing builders' drawings. The work was executed wholly by my father and his bachelor partner, both with some training in civil engineering in England. The partner was much more interested in carpentry than my father, who was essentially a horseman. Whatever the source of the design, it may be properly designated as vernacular architecture. Indeed it would be difficult to think of any foothills buildings of this period that owe much to formal training in architectural theory or practice though many were enriched by skilled craftsmanship. This is not to say that the buildings, however simple in construction and primitive in material, owed nothing to architectural tradition or to eyes insensibly trained by looking at the architectural heritage of older societies.

The original house and the additions were all built not on stone or concrete foundations, but on wooden sills resting on the rocks and boulders plentiful so near a creekbed. The house, after as much as 80 years, still appears to be sound and is easily heated; it has long enjoyed the reputation of being warm in winter and cool in summer. Electric power and propane central heating were installed recently without major alteration to the structure and the two original cellar-holes are still in use for storage. On the hill behind the house, excavations, presumably for root cellars, may still be seen, but these have not existed within present memory though quite commonly used elsewhere in the district and throughout the ranching country of the foothills.

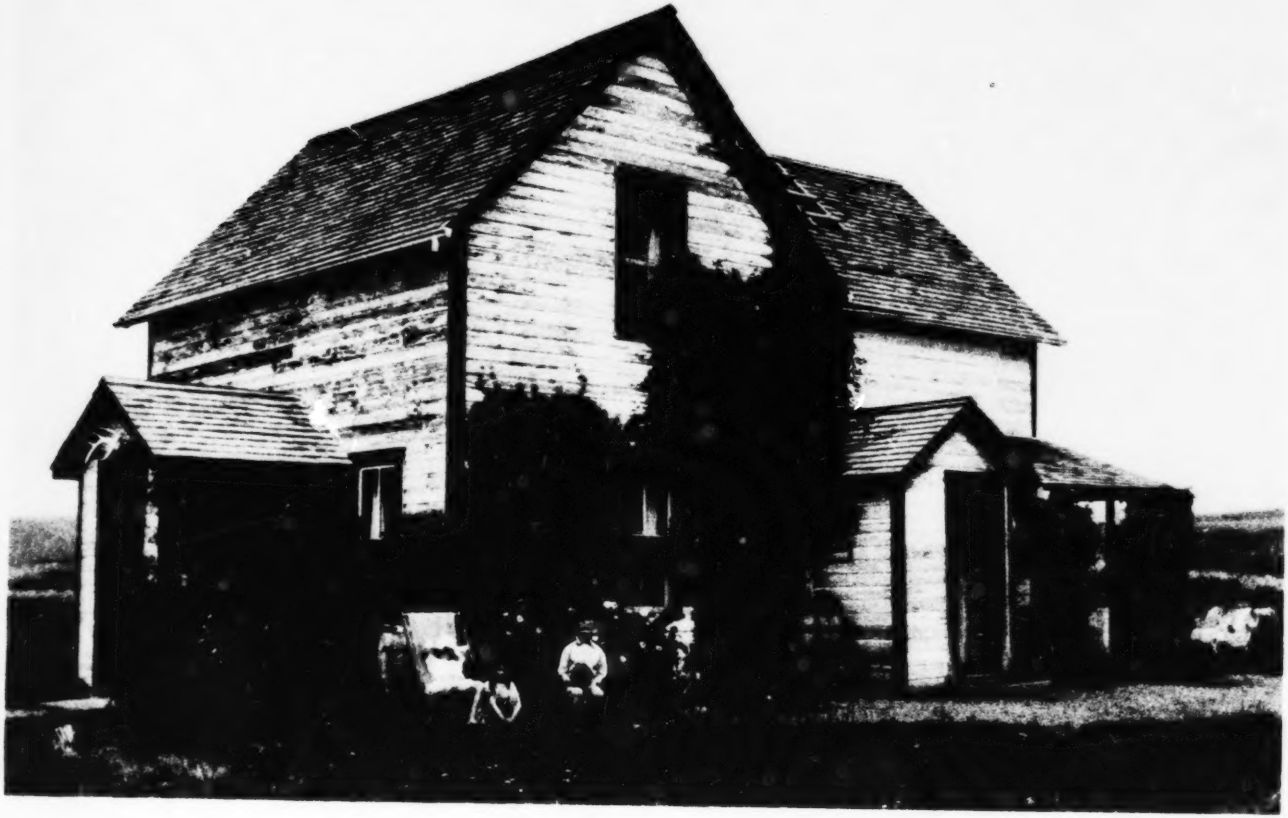
Water supply has never been a problem as, apart from Sheep Creek, there are flowing springs in the vicinity and water is reached in the gravel of the valley by digging a few feet from the surface. The gravel also provides excellent drainage. Water has never been piped in for domestic use, but for a time a pump in the kitchen provided water for the sinks and for the washbasin and tub in the adjacent bathroom, made in 1928 by partitioning off part of the kitchen. The water from the well this pump served was slightly sulphurous to the taste, a not uncommon phenomenon in a location so close to the pioneer oil field at Turner Valley, and sweeter water is now pumped from a well outside the kitchen door, not more than ten yards away. An earth-closet, not the original, is still in service.

Little of the original siding has been replaced and a number of the original window frames and four-paned sashes survive where least exposed to the action of the weather and the fumes from Turner Valley. It is said that the soundness and durability of the structure owed much to the fact that the Austins had the materials on hand for at least a year before they began construction and the wood was thus thoroughly seasoned. The wood probably came from Okotoks, eight miles by road to the east, where the Lineham lumbermill was the major pioneer enterprise. The Linehams came to southern Alberta from Ontario and the milled lumber, used to trim doors and windows, the balustrade that protects the upper landing from the stair opening and the older hardware have in their modest ornament a late Victorian flavour that perhaps lingered longer in the colonial atmosphere of central Canada than in the more sophisticated metropolis. Whatever the Austins' taste, and Mrs. Austin's few surviving letters do not suggest an easy fit into the stereotype of the pioneer woman, people building a house on Sheep Creek in the early nineties would have little choice to exercise in terms of the niceties of design unless a great deal of money was to be spent. By the late twenties a broader choice was available, but in a household of limited means was still restricted.

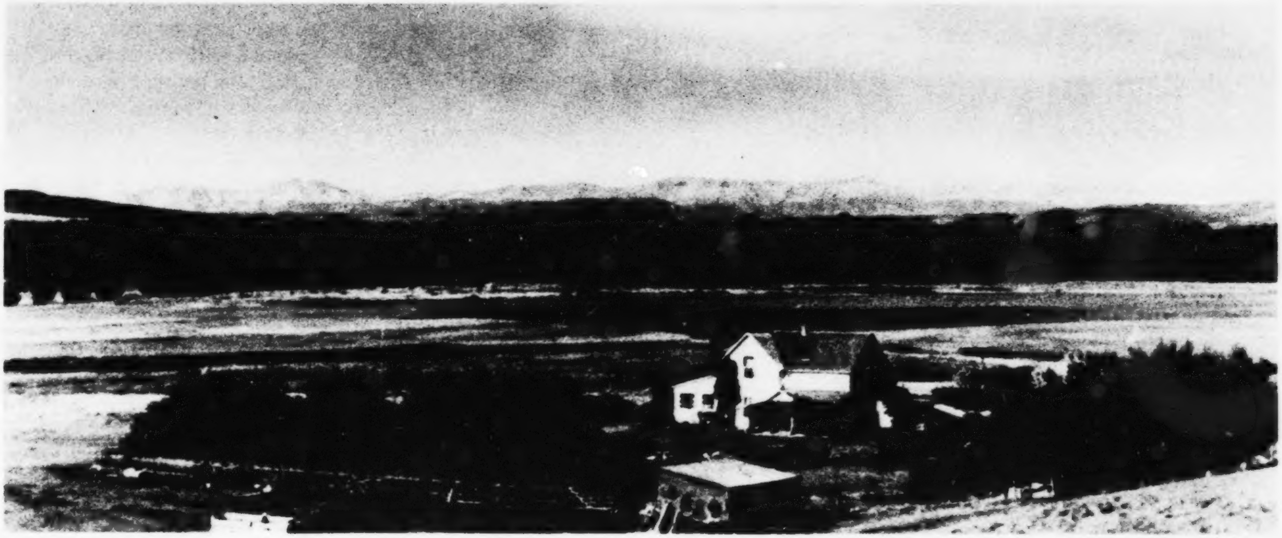
The same restrictions of variety and cost affected the interior furnishings. Little can be said of the appearance of the rooms at Cottonwoods before 1910 except that Mrs. Austin had both a piano and an organ and it would be surprising if the rooms were not strewn with books and magazines and sheet music. Apart from a taste for music, the Austins were great readers; the attic when they left was filled with old numbers of periodicals like *Blackwood's* and *Etudes*. Some of their furniture remained in the house after they departed and an elm double-drop-leaf kitchen ta-

5 Cottonwoods and grounds from the south, 1917. The limed line in the foreground marks the edge of the tennis court. (*L.G. Thomas Collection.*)

6 Cottonwoods from the southeast, circa 1919. The hops are now well-established. The water barrels provided a supply of rainwater as the well water was very hard. (*L.G. Thomas Collection.*)



7 Cottonwoods circa 1935. The sitting room and sun porch had been added circa 1928–29 and the windbreaks planted at that time had made some growth. (*L.G. Thomas Collection.*)



ble with turned legs and at least two chairs with moulded backs and shaped seats, made of an extremely tough wood also probably elm, painted black and exceedingly comfortable, are almost certainly of Ontario workmanship. They are of a design still popular as late as 1870. Whatever their virtue for today's admirer of Canadiana, these pieces were not highly regarded as objects of beauty by my parents and probably not particularly cherished by the previous owners who, after all, left them behind.

The furnishings of the house after 1910 can be described in more precise detail. The heavier pieces were generally of Canadian manufacture and some were homemade, including a huge cupboard in the kitchen, one of whose doors later became part of a built-in corner cupboard which was among the many products of my mother's inventiveness and my father's partner's addiction to joinery. Also in the kitchen was something called "the bamboo cupboard," certainly not homemade though it stood on a homemade stand that concealed behind a discreet green curtain my father's boots except for his best riding boots which, because of the height of their wooden trees, were allowed a place in my mother's wardrobe upstairs. "The bamboo cupboard" was perhaps not fully appreciated as the elegant expression that it was of the first fruits of the revolt against the overwrought elaboration of Victorian domestic furnishings. Only its frame and those of the doors were decorated with bamboo; its top, sides and doors were covered with carefully wrought cane. It had a long career: for a time it served, on a more carefully carpentered stand, as the sideboard in the dining room of the small house in Okotoks which we occupied during the weekdays of the school term, my parents having lost confidence in the one-room school nearly three miles from Cottonwoods which my sisters had briefly attended.

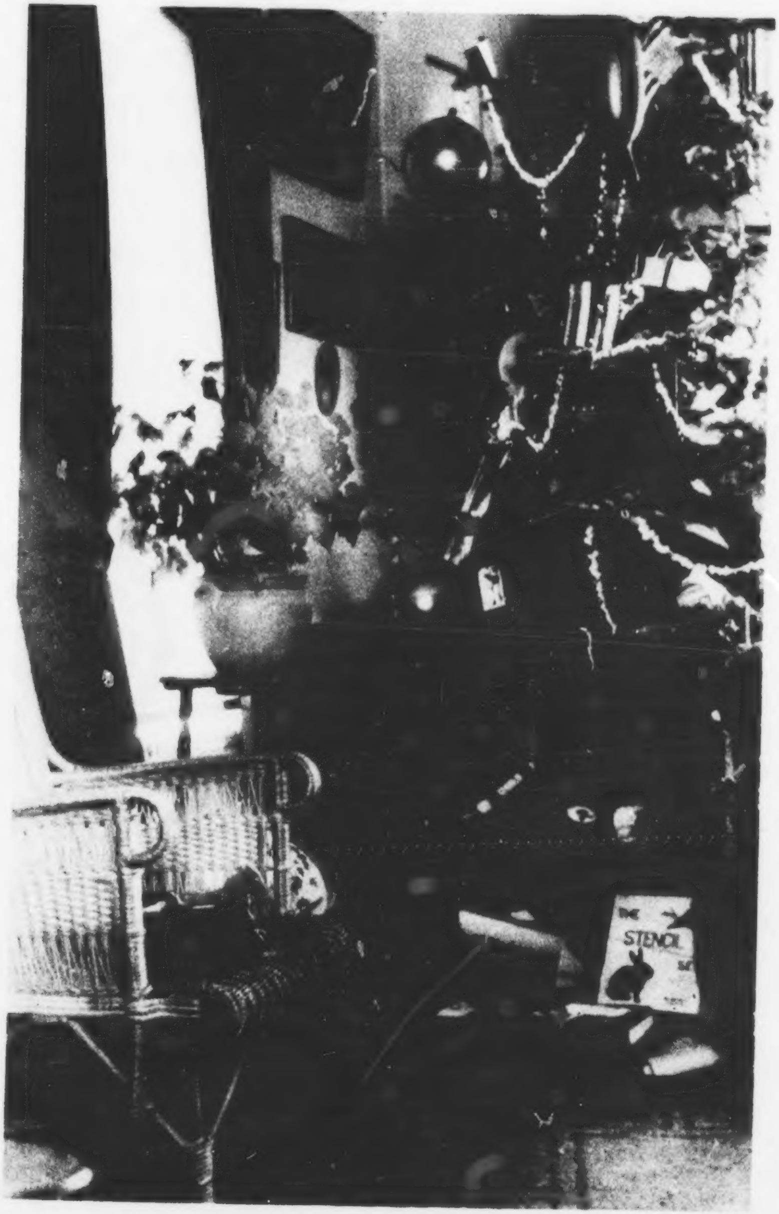
Where "the bamboo cupboard" came from I do not know, but it may have been from the same source as the chairs in the dining room which until 1928 was simply the eastern half of the sitting room. These chairs, a set of six including two armchairs, had been purchased on a visit to "the old country" at an auction sale of the effects of an invalid lady. She must have furnished her house in North Wales under the influence of William Morris for the chairs, of light oak with woven rush seats, had the simple and slender lines of the movement he inspired. The dining table, which could be extended to seat a crowded 12, was by contrast dark and heavy, presumably made in eastern Canada. The finish was probably described by the original vendor as "walnut." When not in use it was covered by a fringed greenish-brown chenille cloth. The sideboard was unashamed fumed oak, solid and simple in design and extremely well-made. The date would be approximately 1910 as I believe it was purchased new at a respectable Calgary furniture shop. It has – it is still in the same room – a mirrored back and a plate rail which displays some of the plates of a dessert service, certainly purchased at a North Wales auction, I believe for half a crown for its 16 pieces, and perhaps from the same invalid lady as her simple green and white Foley (or Shelley) china was for a long time part of our daily life.

The dessert service, lavishly decorated in black, gold and deep autumnal shades and with a curious crackled surface that suggests earthenware rather than fine china, has never been identified as to maker or period. Self-styled connoisseurs have both praised it as of exceptional beauty and antiquity and dismissed it as the worst sort of Art Nouveau, but no one has been able to interpret its obscure and scarcely visible markings. Along with other odds and ends, the service had been packed for export as "settlers effects" in a tin hipbath, formerly the property of my Flintshire great-grandmother. So skilfully was it packed that it survived the passage, all except the two-tiered centre comport which broke at the join between the two parts. My mother placed it in the rubbish bin where it was shortly observed by her Scottish neighbour, a lady noted for her business acumen and her plain-speaking, who did not hesitate to reprove this reckless discard of a valuable object that could be easily and inconspicuously mended. Perhaps tired by her exertions in putting her house in order and possibly resenting this Scottish aspersion on her own West-Country industry, thrift and appreciation of fine things, my mother rather crisply offered the comport to its admirer. The gift was carried off; what became of it was never revealed though I was a frequent and, I think, observant visitor at the recipient's house. The episode, trivial though it may be, indicates how casually household objects were often treated even though their merits were appreciated. My mother was on another occasion scolded by a male caller for using an oriental rug as a hearth-mat. It had been a family relic, but had been tied across great-grandmother's hipbath and the projecting handles had rubbed holes in it. My mother mended it carefully, but stuck to her guns and the rug ended its career at the back door.

The sitting room chairs included a gold-oak armchair with wide wooden arms and an adjustable back, dedicated to the comfort of my father's partner. Its two loose cushions were upholstered in a hideous but durable velour, a kind of plaid in reddish-brown and black that recalled Queen Victoria's worst excesses at Balmoral and Osborne. Such chairs are commonly illustrated in Canadian newspaper advertisements and catalogues from the 1890s to the 1920s; they are sometimes characterized as "mission." A sturdy table stood beside this chair to support a lamp that must have been the most commanding object in the room. The operative

8 The west end of the sitting room at Cottonwoods, circa 1912. At the upper extreme left may be seen part of the shade of the lamp to which reference is made in the text. (*L.G. Thomas Collection.*)

9 The sitting room, Christmas, circa 1913, showing my father's wicker chair. (*L.G. Thomas Collection.*)



part of the lamp was of glass, but this was set in a bowl supported on an elaborately decorated column on claw feet, all silver-plated. This formidable base was surmounted by an equally elaborate silk shade. Where it came from I do not know; perhaps it was a wedding present, perhaps a trophy of the auction room. When it was new it must have been most expensive and I am quite sure my parents would not have thought of such an extravagance. It may have been Edwardian, but I am inclined to think of it as high Victorian at its most robust. As a lamp it was an early casualty of childrens' play – the table on which it stood had, like the dining table, a cover that reached almost to the floor and served once too often as a safe refuge in a game of hide-and-seek – but as a stand for many years it held a plant – wandering Jew or Irish moss – until at last the silver-plate yielded to the many cleanings dictated by the sulphur-laden air that was carried eastward from the oil field across the creek at Turner Valley.

The other furnishings were less substantial. My father occupied a wicker armchair that had the same light and elegant lines as the invalid lady's dining chairs; my mother, a tub-shaped chair with legs and back trimmed with cane or rattan and upholstered in green. The latter chair had, at first only on occasions when guests were invited, a slipcover made of a heavy cretonne or chintz closely patterned in blue and white which matched the slipcover my mother tailored to fit the Winnipeg couch, called "the sofa," whose rather drab green-covered mattress with its pendant frill did not greatly please her eye. There were a number of cushions on "the sofa," whose covers changed with the years. One, very much her "best," was a floral chintz, predominantly rose, with a corded edge. I can remember removing it from under the feet of a visitor in 1920; I noticed it not long ago still doing duty as part of the bed of a much-cherished cat. An upright piano and stool were not part of the original furniture but were added about 1918. The only other piece of furniture I recall was a small fumed oak desk with two bookshelves below; the lid dropped forward to form a writing-surface and though it was really intended as a lady's desk, it was in its pigeonholes that my father kept his papers and there he wrote his letters, including his weekly letter to his mother. The desk, very simple in its lines and extremely well-made, was probably purchased in North Wales in 1910 as it was a gift from my father's sister and seems to me to reflect her advanced and somewhat austere taste (Figs. 8, 10).

The carpet was an Axminster of bold design, richly floral and predominantly red. It covered most of the sitting room side; the floor of the dining room part had a brown linoleum intended to imitate parquet and requiring at least as frequent waxing and polishing. The illusion of wood was scarcely sustained by the brass tape that covered the joins. The kitchen linoleum, a green "inlaid," was prone to lose bits of its inlay not by any inherent defect or for any lack of care, but because of the roughness of the wooden floor beneath.

The curtains of the four windows did not match. In the sitting room the two windows had delicate lace curtains, net with a pattern appliquéed over it in a heavier thread. They were floor length and tied back to allow the view to be seen. There were no side drapes, though a heavy red one was pulled over the outside door to minimize draughts. Instead, cream-coloured blinds on rollers with a spring action gave protection against the sun and were pulled down in the evening more for cosiness than for privacy which was adequately assured by the mile of uncertain trail that led to the nearest public road. For the two dining room windows my mother made simple straight curtains, of cream-coloured casement cloth, whose brass rings pulled back and forth on thin brass rods. At a later date the faithful carpenter made window boxes that held houseplants and which, on the coldest nights, could be conveniently removed to a place of safety.

This room, like all other rooms in the house, was calcimined annually. Pink and green were the common colours, but my mother was quick to take advantage of other shades when these became available. She was also soon experimenting with wallpaper and became adept at hanging it with the assistance of anyone tall enough to be useful. The doors, the wooden trim around them and the windows, and the skirting-boards were varnished though it was not far into the twenties when the possibilities of light-coloured paint were discovered and one by one the rooms transformed.

There were many ornaments, though fewer than was perhaps the general fashion. Two of my English uncles had a taste for carving and fretwork and contributed a clock-case, a rather unstable plant table, whose lower shelf displayed a Japanese bowl in the Imari style, and a small hanging corner cupboard which had a lock and key and served as a medicine chest. All three were painstakingly carved and stained black. A large oak tray, left in its natural colour, was carved in a representation of the arms of the City of Gloucester. Bits of china which varied from a Chelsea piece, badly chipped but of some rarity, to souvenir plates of the coronation of George V, small silver boxes and mugs, a small brass dinner gong on a stand, vases of flowers when flowers were available and framed photographs all found a place somewhere. The pictures on the walls were a heterogeneous lot reflecting, among other things, my father's interest in horses and my mother's hobbies of painting in oils and watercolours and of photography. The only picture of more than sentimental value was a

10 The southeast corner of the sitting room added to the Cottonwoods circa 1929. (*L.G. Thomas Collection.*)

11 Detail from a painting of the Gate Ranch house. The original log structure was built in 1885; the additions were made later. (*Painting by Robert Basilici; Elizabeth Rummel Collection; photo by A. Harmon.*)

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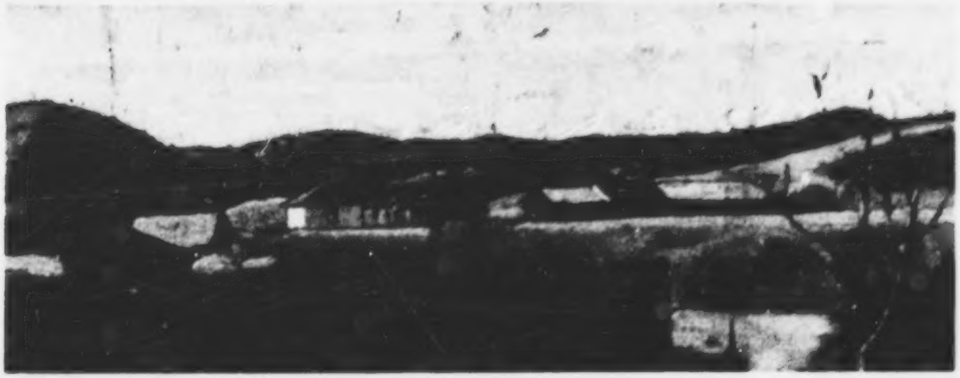

sketch in oils of an old man's head and shoulders by George Morland, one of the many he is said to have done to pay for a drink. It had caught my father's eye at an auction and he had bought it for the proverbial half-crown. The large photograph of race horses belonging to King Edward VII, showing the owner as well as the trainer and jockey, did duty for the portraits of royalty so widely popular throughout the empire. Several colour prints of the works of the cowboy artist, C.M. Russell, recalled my father's early experience in South Dakota and Montana.

The room was heated by a stove, the only source of heat, except for the kitchen range, for the whole house. Its stovepipe disappeared through the ceiling and reappeared in my parents' bedroom, whence it crossed the upstairs landing to the single chimney which also served the kitchen stove. Perhaps the earlier occupants, ageing central Canadians that they were, had a stove upstairs. There was space for one on the landing and an opening for another stovepipe, but there was never a stove there after 1910. Instead the space was enclosed to accommodate a chemical toilet which could be served by the convenient vent.

The first sitting room stove that I recall was a gigantic "base-burner" which could, with suitable attention, be kept going for 24 hours. Its place was taken, when the chimney and stovepipes were cleaned in the spring, by a small air-tight stove. Then the briquets which fed the voracious appetite of the base-burner ceased to be available or perhaps became too expensive and it was relegated to the granary and replaced by a Quebec heater, splendidly black and much ornamented by gleaming steel, an excellent and economical source of heat but incapable of maintaining a fire through the winter night. Cutting wood for the two stoves was a time-consuming task especially as it was all done by hand using axe and saw. Willow was plentiful on Sheep Creek and its quick and intense heat made it the wood preferred for cooking.

The four bedrooms allowed even more scope for improvisation than the downstairs rooms. The beds had enamelled iron frames, some with ornamental brass rods, and were severely practical. There was one feather mattress but it was regarded with some suspicion as possibly unhealthy and its contents were gradually transferred to make pillows, cushions and the quilted "eider-downs" that supplemented a supply of blankets that never-seemed quite adequate. Each bedroom had its washstand, all but one made of packing cases of one size or another, suitably padded, lined and draped. Dressing tables and bedside tables were similarly contrived. Only two rooms had a chest of drawers; these were of eastern Canadian manufacture as was my mother's dressing table. The narrow boards of the walls in two bedrooms were later painted or papered over, but for a time those in the room my sisters shared were covered with pictures cut from every available source and pasted to the boards.

I cannot begin to describe in equal detail the other Sheep Creek houses that I knew well in the years between the wars and can offer little more than impressions. Out of the composite of those impressions emerges a sense that they had more than a little in common, yet they were of great variety and individuality and all reflected the backgrounds and characters of their owners. It is sad that so few have survived, as Cottonwoods has survived, as crystallizations of nearly a century of foothills living.

Many of them were of log, of great variety in size and design, and almost without exception built in successive stages. One of particular interest, the Gate Ranch house (Fig. 11), lay far to the west with a long view up the meadows of the north fork through the foothills' ridges to the splendour of the Rockies. Like many of the earliest houses, it seemed to have been sited with regard to the outlook and its dependent buildings and corrals were, as was generally the case, so placed that they did not obstruct the prospect from the main rooms of the house. From the first the house was seen not merely as an adjunct to the work of the ranch, but as the foundation of the owner's private life and the setting for his social life.

The first dwelling here proved to be too close to the creek and this may explain why the first unit of the house that developed was more carefully constructed than many of its contemporaries. The builder and owner, Joseph T. Waite, had a knowledge of carpentry acquired in northern England and in the oldest part of the house the logs were squared and the corners painstakingly dovetailed. This part of the house, the bar to the future T, was almost square, divided into two rooms, one much wider than the other, and with a steep stairs between to an attic which was high enough to provide sleeping quarters. The second stage, the stem of the T, was much more ambitious and reflected the tastes of a new owner, a former British officer. It consisted of two very large rooms, a sitting room and a kitchen-dining room. These rooms were both lined with narrow tongue-and-groove which darkened with age. The two two-paned sashes of the windows were set to move horizontally rather than vertically; these were called "lazy windows" and their effect was to heighten the impact of the view and to emphasize the horizontal lines of the house as a whole. The logs of this and other parts of the house and of the outbuildings were left in the round with the saddle-back corners characteristic of much foothills log building (Fig. 12). At right angles to the kitchen was the bunkhouse, itself a building of considerable size. The roof of the bunkhouse projected to join that of the kitchen and thus gave a sheltered passage which had a door at its

12 This log house was built circa 1932 at Kew, Alberta. Its owner had grown up at and greatly loved the Gate Ranch and the houses in many ways resembled one another. (*L.G. Thomas Collection.*)

13 The Viewfield Ranch house, probably taken soon after it was built. (*S. Sinclair-Smith Collection.*)

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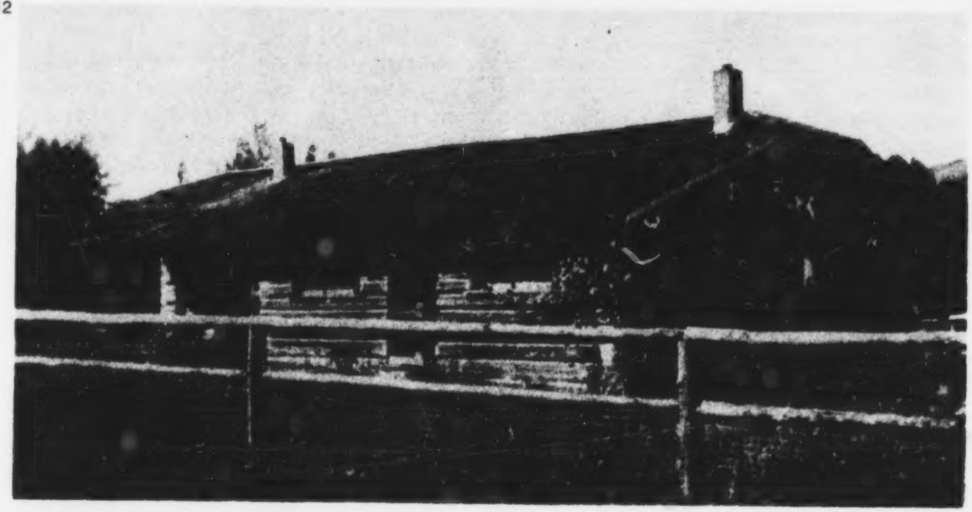

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north end and at once gave communication between and separated the bunkhouse and the kitchen. The passage at its south end was open to the verandah that stretched along the east wall of the sitting room and, in the years between the wars, looked over a flower garden which was thus well-protected on the north and west from wind and frost. Another range of buildings was destroyed by a fire from which the house narrowly escaped and the working buildings and the corrals were, when I knew the place best, all to the northeast of the house. They were admirably maintained and kept meticulously tidy. Some of the outbuildings, all of log, were stained or allowed to weather to a silvery grey, but the roofs, like that of the house, were painted red. The logs of the house were regularly whitewashed and the trim painted black. The house was banked with earth; it had been banked so often that by 1930 the grass grew almost at the level of the windows and the whole house appeared to grow out of its surroundings. It no longer exists but I am sure that the scene of which it was the focus was for many others, as it was for me, the epitome of the log house of the southern Alberta foothills.

Like the other houses of Sheep Creek, the furnishings of this house were a miscellany gathered over the years, some passed down from earlier occupants, many improvised, and some made by a handy craftsman who could easily manage a shelf, a bench or a cupboard even though he certainly would not have considered himself a cabinetmaker. One of the things that distinguished this house in the years between the wars was the bold use of colour, in paint and in materials, in a way that recalled the vernacular decorative arts of south Germany. The family then occupying it were indeed from Munich though with connections reaching into almost every European country. The house was full of books; though well-filled bookshelves were no rarity in the Sheep Creek houses, one did not often find a library in four languages, German, French and Italian as well as English. Nowhere was the synthesis of the exotic and the local more gracefully and unselfconsciously accomplished. It never for a moment seemed odd that at one end of the sitting room there should hang a portrait painted by one of Europe's most fashionable artists while in the corral nearby the subject demonstrated her notable ability to shoe a horse.

Though sandstone was locally available and much used in southern Alberta prior to 1914, Sheep Creek had only one house, the Viewfield Ranch house (Fig. 13), wholly of this material, though another nearby, now derelict, had a basement and ground floor of stone and a charming adjoining garden walled on two sides with blocks from the same quarry. The Viewfield Ranch house, which like many others commanded a handsome prospect of the valley and the mountains, was built by a well-off Englishman. It was of a very simple design: a long, low rectangle with a wooden verandah placed asymmetrically to shelter the front door. The huge attic, lit by a dormer window, was not used. The plan was very English. The front door opened into a square sitting room, almost a hall in the English sense (Figs. 14, 15). It had a brick open fireplace in one corner; the chimney served the stove in the adjoining dining room, a somewhat larger room to the left, and the range in the kitchen behind the dining room. What seemed a long passage led off to the bedrooms to the right of the sitting room. The upper sashes of the windows had a number of small panes; the thickness of the stone walls gave the windows very deep ledges. The house must have been expensive to build; apart from the skilled craftsmanship needed to work with the local stone, the plasterwork of the walls and ceilings and the tiled bathroom were exceptional in this period and this setting. The date when the house was built is not known; the other house where stone was used was built about 1906, perhaps a little earlier. Both had furnaces, though these were not notably efficient, and one had "waterworks" and, by about 1920, a somewhat tempermental electric lighting system.

Everyone had a kitchen garden and almost everyone a flower garden though the latter were not always as faithfully maintained or as ambitious as that at Cottonwoods. Again the gardens reflected the transatlantic heritage of most of the gardeners. They were not elaborate; few attempted more than the cottage garden of England. Plants and seeds were exchanged and the hardiest flourished. Scarlet lychnis or Maltese Cross, perhaps one of the first "exotics" attempted on Sheep Creek, flourished everywhere, notably at the Millarville church. The humble hop and the annual cucumber vine were popular creepers; Virgina creeper was not considered hardy enough to withstand the late and early frost of the foothills. Though the cottonwoods attained a respectable height along the creek, other than native trees grew slowly though gardeners were soon planting Russian poplar, Manitoba maple and caragana to give shelter not only from the wind but also from unseasonable frosts. The gardens and indeed the whole landscape of Sheep Creek by 1930 gave a feeling of sheltered lushness very unlike the stereotype of the prairie, but photographs dating from the eighties and nineties suggest a much more open and less wooded view and indeed these were the years when prairie fires were still a menace. The present garden at Cottonwoods dates only from 1910 and it was much enlarged to accommodate the sheltering trees at the end of the twenties. Dating the gardens is even more difficult than dating the houses and their furnishings, but I am inclined to think that Cottonwoods

14 The sitting room fireplace at Viewfield Ranch, probably taken in the 1920s. (*S. Sinclair-Smith Collection.*)

15 Another view of the sitting room at Viewfield Ranch, probably taken in the 1920s. (*S. Sinclair-Smith Collection.*)

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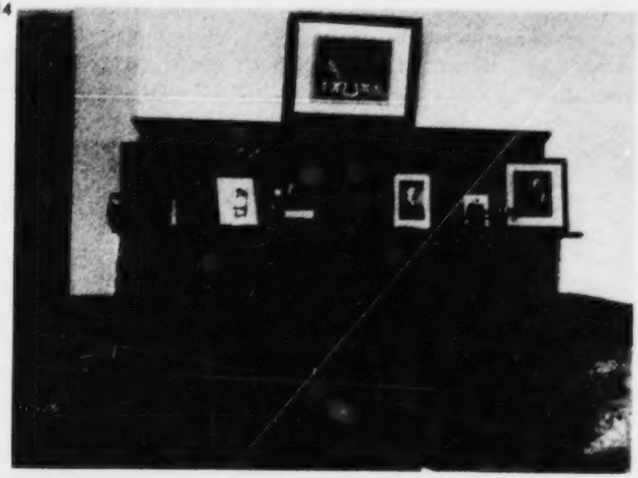

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was exceptional in the absence of a garden in its early years. I am inclined to think that by 1890, and more certainly by 1895, almost all the early settlers had attempted something like an ornamental garden, however modest.

An extraordinary number of Sheep Creek houses had tennis courts; I can think of at least 16. They were grass courts though it is possible that the tennis club courts, near Ardmore, were clay courts, as the second Mrs. Welsh was a player of near championship quality. The vogue for lawn tennis seems to have spread to Sheep Creek almost as soon as the game was invented in North Wales and its popularity survived the war of 1914–18 though by the end of the thirties few of the courts were still maintained. "Maintained" is a relative word for the courts reflected the same talent for improvisation as the furnishing of the houses. The one at Cottonwoods was largely my mother's work. There was a piece of more or less level turf directly south of the garden and approximately the size laid down by *Pears' Encyclopaedia*, a much-thumbed work of reference. The lines, determined by the same authority, were laid out with lime and an old broom. The net had to be taken down between times as stock roamed at large; indeed to make the court my mother cut turf to fill a cow path that bisected diagonally her chosen site. The court ran east and west, which gave a certain advantage to the players with the sun at their backs. There were no backstops and balls had frequently to be retrieved from the little creek that in wet seasons ran only a few feet beyond the court's southerly limit. Our equipment was modest: balls were used year after year, surviving frequent total immersion, and one of the racquets was of such antiquity that, judging from its curiously unbalanced shape, it must have been made before any nonsense about standardization.

The Sheep Creek houses that I remember had great individuality yet they reflected certain common concerns that grew out of a diversity of backgrounds. Their mood was to a degree nostalgic, a harking back to a past that was remembered with affection, if not always, or even often, with regret. Their mistresses showed remarkable adaptability and in the interest of comfort and convenience they did not hesitate to compromise. Thus they drew their furnishings from a variety of sources. In one house a fine pair of early Wedgewood vases might sit on a carpenter-made cupboard or a Chippendale dressing-mirror on a golden-oak chest of drawers from Lindsay, Ontario. Family portraits from the 18th century might hang side by side with a carefully tanned coyote-skin. No one furnished a house with antiques, but if they had cherished possessions from another age and another way of life they used them and enjoyed them. On these extraordinary juxtapositions the patina of a generation's living imposed a congruity of their own.

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Canadian Historic Sites No. 20

The History of Fort Langley, 1827–96
by Mary K. Cullen

Fort Langley was established by the Hudson's Bay Company as part of the expansion of the company's trade on the Pacific Coast and also served a political function in maintaining a British presence on the coast. Diversification of products kept the fort and Langley Farm economically viable long after the Company was spent as an international force, but competition from larger centres in the developing province of British Columbia ultimately compelled the Company to abandon its operations at the post in 1896.

Ranch Houses of the Alberta Foothills
by L. G. Thomas

An evocative description of the architecture, furnishings and grounds of ranch houses of the Sheep Creek area of southern Alberta, the paper focuses on Cottonwoods, the author's boyhood home, built in the early 1890s and developed through successive alterations in the following years, and touches on other typical and atypical ranch dwellings in the area.